Liturgy and the Living Text of the New Testament

Papers from the Tenth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament

Edited by

H. A. G. Houghton



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Professor David Parker at the Tenth Birmingham Colloquium
on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, March 2017.
Image courtesy of Ian Nelson Mills

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ings in Codex Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Ephraemi, Bezae, and Washingtonianus in the Gospel of Matthew (2018). He recently completed a postdoctoral fellowship contributing to the preparation of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* 29th edition and the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* 6th edition and is currently revising the *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*.

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List of Abbreviations

ACCS	Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AGLB	Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers
ANTF	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
CBM	Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum series graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum series latina
CEV	Contemporary English Version
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CUP	Cambridge University Press
ECM	Editio Critica Maior
ExpT	*The Expository Times*
GA	Gregory–Aland (see also *Liste*)
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*
GNB	Good News Bible
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
IGNTP	International Greek New Testament Project
INTF	Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung
ITSEE	Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KJV	King James Version
Liste	Kurt Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments.* (2nd edn, ANTF 1. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 1994). The most up-to-date version is found at http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste.
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MS(S)	manuscript(s)

NA28	E. Nestle, K. Aland et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (28th edn; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012).
NETS	New English Translation of the Septuagint
NIV	New International Version
NKJV	New King James Version
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
ns	new series
NT	New Testament
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents
NTVMR	New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room, hosted online at http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/
os	old series
OUP	Oxford University Press
PG	*Patrologia Graeca* [= Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca]. Edited by J.-P. Migne (161 vols; Paris, 1857–1866).
PL	*Patrologia Latina* [= Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina]. Edited by J.-P. Migne (217 vols; Paris, 1841–1855).
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes*
SBL	Society for Biblical Literature
SD	Studies and Documents
SNTS	Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas
T&S	Texts and Studies
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
UBS	United Bible Societies
UBS4	United Bible Societies, *Greek New Testament* (4th edn; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993).
UBS5	United Bible Societies, *Greek New Testament* (5th edn; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2014).
VL	Vetus Latina
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAC	*Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

INTRODUCTION

How is the textual tradition of the New Testament to be characterised? For much of its history, extending back into antiquity, the presence of multiple variant readings has been seen as a problem to be addressed in order to recover a single authoritative form. The subtitle to Bruce Metzger's introduction to *The Text of the New Testament*, first published in 1964, enumerates the three stages of *Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* and serves to illustrate this enduring attitude.[1] Indeed, Metzger's own work as a member of the committee responsible for the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*, producing a text widely accepted as standard for almost four decades at the end of the twentieth century, undoubtedly contributed to the idea that the task of New Testament textual criticism was largely accomplished.

Yet at the same time as these volumes were successively reprinted and updated, other textual scholars began to articulate an alternative approach to the manuscripts of the New Testament which saw the tradition itself as of inherent value rather than simply a means to an end. One of the earliest was Eldon Jay Epp, whose monograph on *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae in Acts* showed how the characteristic readings of an individual witness could shed light on early Christian approaches to biblical tradition.[2] Bart Ehrman, a student of Metzger, became the most famous exponent of approaching textual variation through a theological lens with *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*.[3] For many, however, it was the publication of David Par-

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[1] Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (Oxford: OUP, 1964; fourth edition with Bart D. Ehrman, 2005).

[2] Eldon J. Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (Cambridge: CUP, 1966).

[3] Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: OUP, 1993; updated edition 2011).

ker's *The Living Text of the Gospels* in 1997 which has come to characterise this approach to New Testament textual criticism.[4]

For Parker, the New Testament is not to be found in an abstract editorial reconstruction of an 'original text'—a term which literary criticism and the study of textual history has rendered highly problematic, if not unusable. Rather, it is constituted by the entirety of the surviving documentary evidence, the individual copies which were produced in each generation and treated as Scripture. The discrepancies between their texts are all part of the tradition of these writings, a complex history which bears witness to continual engagement with the wording as well as the interpretation of the New Testament. This is neatly summarised in the phrase which is quoted by several contributors to this volume, 'Scripture is tradition'.[5] Nevertheless, Parker is quick to point out that this does not mean that all variant readings have equal authority: rather, 'there is no authoritative text beyond the manuscripts which we may follow without further thought'.[6] Again, while it has more than once been suggested that—despite his appointment as Executive Editor of the IGNTP and of the ECM of John—Parker has no interest in reconstructing a single form of text, he explicitly denies this in *The Living Text*:

> the attempt to recover early text forms is a necessary part of that reconstruction of the history of the text without which, as this book has been at some pains to demonstrate, nothing can be understood.[7]

The issue is not one of form but of authority: whatever an editor may say that their reconstructed text represents, there can be no exclusive claim to authenticity given the diverse forms of New Testament text which have concurrently been accepted as Scripture by Christians over the course of the centuries.

Parker's description of this whole tradition as the 'living text' of the Bible is one which has caught the imagination of his readers and passed into academic discourse.[8] Yet is it worth noting that this is not the only image

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[4] D.C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997).

[5] Parker, *Living Text*, p. 207; see also pp. 209–210. This was also the title of an earlier article: D.C. Parker, 'Scripture is Tradition', *Theology* 94 (1991) 11–17.

[6] Parker, *Living Text*, p. 212.

[7] Parker, *Living Text*, p. 211.

[8] See further the observations throughout Yii-Jan Lin, *The Erotic Life of Manu-*

which he offers in this book for the diversity of the transmitted text: on page 206, he speaks both of 'confluences in the stream' and 'stars in the expanding universe'. Such illustrations find their echoes, appropriately, in earlier and later writings: back in 1953, Günther Zuntz offered 'An Attempt at a Graphic Presentation of the "Stream of the Tradition"' inside the back cover of *The Text of the Epistles*, while Eldon Epp has more recently spoken of text-types as 'constellations'.[9] More broadly, this approach to the textual tradition of the New Testament has been described as 'narrative textual criticism', in which every variant reading (or, better still, forms of text embodied in individual manuscripts) may be seen as telling a story about the reception and interpretation of Scripture at one or more points in its history.[10] Combined with the striking increase in the availability of high-quality images of complete New Testament manuscripts in recent years, thanks to the development of digital technology and the internet, this new emphasis on the value of the whole textual tradition has led to a renaissance in New Testament textual scholarship in the two decades since the publication of *The Living Text of the Gospels*. The evidence for this is seen not just in the establishment of the study of manuscripts and other witnesses to the biblical text as a key part of theology programmes at both undergraduate and postgraduate level, but also in the remarkable profusion of new editions of the New Testament in Greek.

At the same time, the most obvious domain in which the biblical text continues to have a living voice is in the context of Christian worship. The liturgical reading of the Bible transforms the written letters into the spoken word, a word which has authority by virtue of the participation of its speakers and hearers in the tradition which they share in continuity with previous generations, a tradition which stretches back beyond even the composition of these texts. This point is also made by Parker in *The Living Text* in his

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scripts: New Testament Textual Criticism and the Biological Sciences (New York: OUP, 2016), especially p. 101.

[9] G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles. A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* (London: OUP for the British Academy, 1953); Eldon Jay Epp, 'Textual Clusters: Their Past and Future in New Testament Textual Criticism' in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research. Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (2nd edn, NTTSD 42; Leiden, Brill, 2012) 519–577.

[10] On 'narrative textual criticism', see for example Lin, *The Erotic Life of Manuscripts*, chapter 3.

comments about how 'the written and oral tradition have accompanied, affected and followed one another'.[11] The context for the public reading of the New Testament epistles as the gathering of the Christian congregation for worship, and the description of the canonical gospels as the products of sustained reflection by particular Christian communities, perhaps with dramatised performance at least partly in mind (as continues to be the case for many traditions in the reading of the Passion Narrative on Palm Sunday) underlines the interrelationship of Bible and liturgy.[12]

The liturgical use of the New Testament has also made an important contribution to its textual transmission. Almost half of the surviving manuscripts of the Greek New Testament are lectionaries, copies in which the passages appointed to be read during worship are presented in the order of the cycle of the Christian year rather than their original context. Adjustments to the text of these extracts in order to enable them to stand by themselves are numerous, yet these are not confined solely to lectionaries but are also found in continuous-text witnesses. What is more, the familiarity of copyists with the evangelists' differing versions of the same episode, or alternative texts of a single work, is often attributed to their encounter with the Bible during the liturgy and invoked as a strong contributory factor to variants involving harmonisation. Nevertheless, despite several research projects on the lectionary tradition in recent decades, this remains an underexplored area for textual scholarship.[13]

In marking the twentieth anniversary of the publication of *The Living Text of the Gospels*, the significance of the liturgy for the textual tradition of the New Testament therefore provides an obvious complementary topic, both in the original context in which these papers were first presented and in the present volume of text-critical studies.

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[11] Parker, *The Living Text*, p. 210; see also pp. 203–204. This aspect of Parker's argument has been taken up in the research and publications of Werner Kelber.

[12] This connection has been taken even further, notably in the liturgical structuring of the Gospels identified by Michael Goulder in, for example, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1974) and *The Evangelists' Calendar: A Lectionary Explanation of the Development of Scripture* (London: SPCK, 1978).

[13] Further details of the number of surviving lectionaries and the history of research in this area are given in Paulson's contribution to the present volume.

Contents of the Present Volume

The chapters have been grouped according to the principal themes of this collection. Beginning with studies relating to *The Living Text of the Gospels*, **Tommy Wasserman** considers scribal practice in the oldest surviving gospel manuscripts. Taking into account recent developments in the dating of papyri, he offers a counterbalance to Parker's description of the uncontrolled aspects of early Christian textual tradition by observing that some manuscripts reflect a strict approach to the transmission of the Gospels which must also go back to the earliest period. **Jeff Cate** addresses a variant reading in the Gospel according to Mark whose attestation is restricted to 'Western' witnesses. He shows that the longer form of text in Mark 13:2, found in a number of very early sources, corresponds to the evangelist's use of Daniel in the same passage and may thus have a claim to be original. **Thomas O'Loughlin** offers further reflections on the many variations concerning the number of cups at the Last Supper, a notorious textual crux with liturgical as well as text-critical significance. His observations about the importance of tradition and the problem of the quest for an 'original' echo Parker's statements in *The Living Text of the Gospels*. **Peter Lorenz** uses the framework set out by Parker to investigate the form of the genealogy of Luke in Codex Bezae. After an extensive consideration of patristic interpretation of this passage, Lorenz shows that the reorganisation of the text, which matches that found in Aphrahat, reflects concerns in the latter part of the fourth century. This is also in keeping with the date suggested by Parker for the copying of Codex Bezae.

The next four contributions focus on lectionary manuscripts and the influence of liturgy on the New Testament text. First, **Gregory Paulson** provides a history of the use of lectionaries in editions of the Greek New Testament. He goes on to propose how a scholarly edition of the lectionary could be made using the electronic tools currently available, detailing how this might be laid out on the printed page. **Teunis van Lopik** then considers the well-known passage of the Woman Taken in Adultery. Although it did not form part of the liturgical lection for Pentecost, it was one of the series of gospel readings used in Byzantine times, appointed for the feast days of several female saints and certain other liturgical contexts. Van Lopik concludes, however, that the asterisks found alongside this passage in certain continuous-text manuscripts do not relate to its absence from the Pentecost lection but celebrate the inclusion of the passage in Byzantine tradition. **Samuel Gibson**, building on his recent monograph on the Greek *Apostolos* lectionary, examines textual variants in Acts which involve divine names. He shows that there is usually no single form of text which charac-

terises lectionary tradition and that the variations are also paralleled in continuous-text witnesses. This casts doubt on the idea of a distinctive 'lectionary text'. **Matthias Schulz** offers the first overview of the text of lectionary manuscripts in Sahidic Coptic, focussing on the books for which the *Editio Critica Maior* has appeared or is in preparation. He finds no trace of textual variants indicative of a separate lectionary tradition, although most of the witnesses are fragmentary: the only complete Sahidic lectionary manuscript, sa 15^{L}, has a poorly-copied and often unique text.

Two chapters follow which consider translation as an instance of the ongoing life of the biblical text. **Theodora Panella** explains the need for translation of the New Testament into Modern Greek and its religious, linguistic and political significance. Even though the most recent translation, first published in 1985, initially met with opposition for its adoption of the principles of dynamic equivalence, it is in continuity with the explanations provided by the compilers of catenae and has now become widely accepted. **Hans Förster**, in his examination of translations of the Gospel according to John, notes the importance of personal pronouns and other *verba minora* in reflecting interpretative assumptions. In particular, he suggests that the anti-Judaism often detected in this Gospel is at least in part due to certain translational choices.

Finally, following his retirement from a full-time academic post, **David Parker** contributes the inaugural lecture he gave on his appointment to a personal chair in New Testament Textual Criticism and Palaeography at the University of Birmingham on 11 March 2003. Although the accompanying Powerpoint presentation has been made available on the internet, the full text of the lecture has never before been published. Despite the passage of time, this description of developments in New Testament textual criticism a few years after the publication of *The Living Text of the Gospels* retains its value. What is more, the enumeration of his projects which were then current at Birmingham and have subsequently had a significant impact, such as the *Digital Codex Sinaiticus*, serves to illustrate his continued activity in keeping the tradition alive.

The Tenth Birmingham Colloquium

With the exception of the final chapter, all the contributions in this volume were originally delivered as papers at the Tenth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, and subsequently revised and developed for publication. In addition to celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the appearance of David Parker's *The Living Text of the Gospels*, the tenth of these biennial gatherings also marked twenty years since the found-

ing of the Birmingham Colloquia by David Parker and David Taylor in 1997. It continued the recent trend of this event towards ever greater numbers of participants and geographical diversity, with almost fifty people in attendance and presenters from the United Kingdom, USA, Germany, Sweden, Austria, Holland, Georgia and Japan.



Some of the participants at the Tenth Birmingham Colloquium (Image by Hugh Houghton)

Held at the University of Birmingham and Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre on 20–22 March 2017, the title of the tenth colloquium was 'Lives of the Text'. It consisted of eighteen papers along with a final session which included a presentation of photographs from previous colloquia and reflections by David Parker on the reception of *The Living Text of the Gospels*. He observed not only that he continued to maintain the positions articulated in this book, but also that reactions to *The Living Text* and subsequent publications had confirmed to him the value and importance of this approach.

The traditional colloquium excursion on the Tuesday afternoon was to the city of Coventry, where delegates saw the fifteenth-century wall painting of the Last Judgment in Holy Trinity Church, followed by an extensive guided tour of the two cathedral buildings. After evening prayer, the party had a meal at the sixteenth-century Bear Inn in the Anglo-Saxon village of Berkswell. The conference dinner on the Wednesday, held in the University's Staff House, included a presentation from Dr Alba Fedeli on the Qur'anic fragments held in the Mingana Collection and the media reaction to the announcement in July 2015 that radiocarbon dating had indicated that the so-called 'Birmingham Qur'an' was among the oldest surviving fragments of this work.

The organisers would like to put on record their gratitude to the many people who contributed to another enjoyable and memorable colloquium. These include Mauro Ghiani, Richard Ainsworth and the other members of

Woodbrooke; Carla Crawley, Peter Littlewood and the guides at Coventry Cathedral; Louise Burridge and her team at the University of Birmingham Staff House and Imelda Stevens in the room bookings department. We are also grateful to members of ITSEE for their help with practical arrangements, especially Dr Catherine Smith who once again went beyond the call of duty in ensuring that everything ran according to plan.

As editor, I would like to thank the contributors for their attention both to details and to deadlines in the preparation of this volume. The Syndics of Cambridge University Library generously permitted the reproduction of pages from Codex Bezae in the chapter by Peter Lorenz and the University of Salzburg has kindly allowed the reproduction of the painting discussed by Hans Förster. Dr Brice C. Jones and Dr Melonie Schmierer-Lee have been instrumental in the publication of this fifth set of proceedings from the Birmingham Colloquium to appear in the Gorgias Press *Texts and Studies* series and it is a pleasure to work with them. Finally, while this book is emphatically not intended as a *Festschrift* for David Parker, it provides an opportunity to join the participants of the Birmingham colloquia in thanking him for presiding over twenty years of stimulating conversations and congratulating him on his distinctive and lasting contribution which has encompassed New Testament textual criticism and palaeography, theology and digital philology.

H.A.G. Houghton
Birmingham, 20 March 2018

1. Was There an Alexandrian Recension of the Living Text?

Tommy Wasserman[1]

The Status of the Earliest Recoverable Text in the Current Debate

Traditionally, textual critics have pointed to the wealth of evidence for the text of the New Testament, not least to the fact that so many early manuscripts close to the time the writings originated are preserved. This rich textual evidence has been used optimistically in the reconstruction of the original text of the New Testament.[2] During the last decades, however, a number of scholars, in particular Bart Ehrman, Eldon Epp, Helmut Koester, David Parker and William Petersen, have questioned the value of the extant textual evidence for the reconstruction of the so-called 'original text', including the earliest evidence, mainly because it is still too far removed from the authors.[3] Furthermore, they have emphasised the great freedom and

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[1] I would like to thank Mohr Siebeck for granting permission to reuse some material from my previous article, 'The Implications of Textual Criticism for Understanding the "Original Text"', in *Mark and Matthew I: Comparative Readings: Understanding the Earliest Gospels in their First-Century Settings*, ed. E.-M. Becker and A. Runesson (WUNT 271; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 77–96.

[2] For a detailed historical survey of this classical pursuit of textual criticism, see Eldon J. Epp, 'The Multivalence of the Term "Original Text" in New Testament Textual Criticism', *HTR* 92 (1999) 245–281.

[3] Bart D. Ehrman, 'The Text of the Gospels at the End of the 2nd Century', in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium June 1994*, ed. D.C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 95–122; Epp, 'The Multivalence', pp. 245–281; Helmut Koester, 'The Text of the Synoptic Gospels in the Second Century', in

fluidity of the text in the earliest period of transmission. This is reflected in the so-called 'Western' text and in the loose and fluid patristic citations of the New Testament in early second-century authors. From this perspective, the classical task of textual criticism—the reconstruction of the 'original text'—is an impossible and useless undertaking.[4]

David Parker has pointed to the fact that the gospel texts were subject to the effects of textual transmission from the very beginning of their literary history in his aptly-titled study *The Living Text of the Gospels*, which appeared in 1997. He regards the wealth of textual variation that developed mainly during the first two centuries of the manuscript tradition of the gospels as proof that early Christian users of these writings treated them as *living texts* which could be reworded, expanded and reduced in various places. In his study, he gives examples from a number of key passages in order to demonstrate the apparent diversity in the early textual tradition. Such textual freedom implies that the early church was not concerned with transmitting a controlled, authoritative and reliable text.[5] Parker takes Codex Bezae as a prime example of the kind of free text that must have been typical during the second century before standardisation and recension occurred.[6]

Gospel Traditions in the Second Century, ed. W.L. Petersen (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 19–37; D.C. Parker, 'Textual Criticism and Theology', *ExpT* 118 (2007) 583–589; W.L. Petersen, 'The Genesis of the Gospels', in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis*, ed. Adelbert Denaux (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 33–65; W.L. Petersen, 'What Text Can New Testament Textual Criticism Ultimately Reach?', in *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis and Church History*, ed. B. Aland and J. Delobel (Kampen: Kok-Pharos, 1994), 136–152.

[4] Petersen, 'The Genesis', p. 62, remarks, 'To be brutally frank, we know next to nothing about the shape of the "autograph" gospels; indeed, it is questionable if one can even speak of such a thing.' Thus also D.C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), p. 208: 'The quest for a single original text of the Gospels is driven by the same forces that have sought a single original saying of Jesus behind the different texts of different Gospels. Both quests are dubious.'

[5] Nevertheless, I believe that it is vital in this respect to distinguish carefully between the textual variation between the Synoptic Gospels and the textual variation in each textual tradition.

[6] Parker, *Living Text*, pp. 201–202; cf. Ehrman, 'The Text of the Gospels', pp. 100–102.

Today, most textual critics hesitate to use the traditional term 'original text' since it has become increasingly problematic: it is too ambiguous and causes confusion.[7] Instead, they prefer to talk about the earliest recoverable text, or the 'initial text' (*Ausgangstext*).[8] The real difference of opinion, however, concerns the nature of the earliest recoverable text and its relationship to the hypothetical autographs—a term which in turn needs further definition.[9] Some scholars think that a gulf separates the initial text from the autographs because of extensive corruption that took place during the first hundred years of the transmission history, before the time of our oldest witnesses.[10] Others think it is indeed possible to reconstruct a text that is not far removed from what the authors wrote in the first century.[11]

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[7] Epp, 'The Multivalence', pp. 245–281.

[8] For definitions of the 'initial text' as opposed to 'autograph' and 'archetype', see Gerd Mink, 'Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition: The New Testament. Stemmata of Variants As a Source of a Genealogy for Witnesses', in *Studies in Stemmatology II*, ed. P. van Reenen et al. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004), 25–27. For a thorough introduction to the debate about the definitions of terms and goals of textual criticism, see Michael W. Holmes, 'From "Original Text" to "Initial Text": The Traditional Goal of New Testament Textual Criticism in Contemporary Discussion', in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (2nd edn; NTTSD 42; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 637–688.

[9] The term 'autograph' needs further definition depending on which book is under consideration, since there might be cases of multiple autographs or various stages of production. For example, Günther Zuntz has argued that the goal of textual criticism is to restore not the text of Paul's letters as he sent them to various destinations, but the text of the collected edition, from around 100 CE (G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum* [London: OUP, 1953], pp. 274–283). For my present purposes, I am content with the general definition of an autograph as the state of a book when it began its literary history through transcription for distribution, as given in Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (German, trans. E.F. Rhodes; 2nd edn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), p. 297.

[10] The view that the age of the extant textual witnesses is not of any particular significance is especially evident in thoroughgoing eclecticism. See J. Keith Elliott, 'Thoroughgoing Eclecticism in New Testament Textual Criticism', in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, 745–770 (esp. pp. 745–46).

[11] Wasserman, 'The Implications of Textual Criticism'.

One particular area of controversy concerns the status of the earliest witnesses to the New Testament text, namely those written on papyrus. In the early 1980s Eldon Epp anticipated an '*approaching battle* over the papyri' concerning 'the *worth* of the papyri as textual witnesses' and 'how *representative* of the earliest history of the text these early papyri are'.[12] That battle has definitely begun.

THE EARLY PAPYRI AND A FOURTH-CENTURY ALEXANDRIAN RECENSION

A primary issue when we consider the relative worth of a New Testament papyrus is its date. The dating of such witnesses has become controversial because there are biblical scholars who, sometimes for apologetic reasons, have proposed earlier dates for many of the manuscripts than those that reflect the consensus among papyrologists.[13] On the other hand, another group of papyrologists have recently put forward later dates for some manuscripts and a wider date range for Christian literary papyri in general. For example, Brent Nongbri has proposed that P. Bodmer II ($\mathfrak{P}^{66}$) be dated to the early or middle part of the fourth century and P. Bodmer XIV-XV ($\mathfrak{P}^{75}$) to the fourth century, while Don Barker has argued that the ranges of dates assigned to Christian literary papyri on the basis of palaeography in general have been too narrow.[14]

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[12] Eldon J. Epp, 'Decision Points in Past, Present, and Future New Testament Textual Criticism', in *Studies in the Theory and Method of NT Textual Criticism*, ed. E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), p. 42 (emphasis original; this chapter was based upon presentations given in 1980–3).

[13] R.S. Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 25–49; Pasquale Orsini and Willy Clarysse, 'Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates: A Critique of Theological Paleography', *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 88.4 (2012) 433–474.

[14] See Brent Nongbri, 'The Limits of Palaeographic Dating of Literary Papyri: Some Observations on the Date and Provenance of P.Bodmer II ($\mathfrak{P}^{66}$)', *Museum Helveticum* 71 (2014) 1–35; Brent Nongbri, 'Reconsidering the Place of Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV ($\mathfrak{P}^{75}$) in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament', *JBL* 135.2 (2016) 405–437; Don Barker, 'The Dating of New Testament Papyri', *NTS* 57 (2011) 571–582; Brent Nongbri, 'The Use and Abuse of P52: Papyrological Pitfalls in the Dating of the Fourth Gospel', *HTR* 98 (2005) 23–48.

In Table 1 below I have compiled a list of the earliest manuscript witnesses to the New Testament text based on the dates assigned by Pasquale Orsini and Willy Clarysse in their critique of 'theological palaeography', in order to demonstrate that this apologetic tendency is not reflected in the current Nestle-Aland edition. In spite of some significant differences, seven papyri and early majuscules are still dated potentially to the second century ($\mathfrak{P}^{30}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{52}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{4+64+67}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{90}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{104}$, 0171, 0212). Four manuscripts are dated earlier by Orsini and Clarysse ($\mathfrak{P}^{30}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{4+64+67}$, 0171, 0212), four are dated later ($\mathfrak{P}^{77}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{98}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{103}$, 0189). Perhaps the most significant difference is that Orsini and Clarysse date 0171 earlier by 125 years.

MS	$\mathfrak{P}^{30}$	$\mathfrak{P}^{52}$	$\mathfrak{P}^{4+64+67}$	$\mathfrak{P}^{77}$	$\mathfrak{P}^{90}$	$\mathfrak{P}^{98}$	$\mathfrak{P}^{103}$	$\mathfrak{P}^{104}$	0171	0189	0212
N-A date	200–300	100–150	200–250	150–250	100–200	100–200(?)	150–250	100–200	300–350	150–250	200–300
O-C date	175–225	125–175	175–200	250–300	150–200	200–250	200–300	100–200	175–225	300–400	175–225

Table 1. Dates of Early Greek NT MSS in Nestle-Aland and Orsini & Clarysse

The second vital issue for the history of the text is related to the age not of the physical manuscript but of the text it carries. There is, however, great controversy over the age and status of the *texts* in the earliest papyri. Of course, the issue of dating is closely related to the issue of the textual character of a witness, since the dating provides a *terminus ante quem* for the text.

At the end of the nineteenth century, when few papyri were known, Westcott and Hort attempted to demonstrate the superiority of their 'Neutral' text, represented chiefly by Codex Vaticanus.[15] However, the new papyrus discoveries from the 1930s and onwards caused many scholars to question whether the 'Neutral' text really represented a pure line of transmission from the earliest time, as Westcott and Hort had assumed. Some papyri did not align clearly with any of the established text-types and thus reflected a more diverse and fluid state of transmission than expected.

[15] Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, eds, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (2 vols; London: Macmillan, 1881). Westcott and Hort viewed Codex Sinaiticus (א) as very close to Codex Vaticanus (B), but clearly gave priority to the latter: 'B must be regarded as having preserved not only a very ancient text, but a very pure line of very ancient text' (Vol. 2, p. 251).

Frederic Kenyon and others therefore suggested that the 'Neutral' text of Codex Vaticanus must be the product of a scholarly recension that probably took place in Alexandria in the fourth century.[16]

With the publication of 𝔓75 in 1961, the question of an Alexandrian recension came into a new perspective. Studies of 𝔓75 in Luke by Carlo Maria Martini and in John by Calvin L. Porter demonstrated that the text of 𝔓75, assigned a date of around 200, was almost identical to the text of Codex Vaticanus.[17] Their texts agree over 90% of the time in Luke and John, and the natural conclusion was that they derive from a common ancestor from at least as early as the second century.[18]

The close relationship of 𝔓75 and Vaticanus demonstrated the stability of this kind of text for at least a century and a half during an era of textual transmission that was, presumably, uncontrolled. The central question of whether the 'Neutral' text or text-type was the result of a recension or of a strict transmission was thus pushed back into the second century.[19] As Epp explains, 'the long-standing conviction of a fourth-century recension of what had been called the B-text was freely given up—no struggle, no strife'.[20]

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[16] Frederic G. Kenyon, 'Hesychius and the Text of the New Testament', in *Mémorial Lagrange*, ed. L.-H. Vincent (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1940), p. 250; cf. Kenneth W. Clark, 'The Effect of Recent Textual Criticism upon New Testament Studies', in *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology*, ed. W.D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: CUP, 1954), 37; Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, pp. 271–272; Werner G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (14th rev. edn by P. Feine and J. Behm; Nashville: Abingdon, 1966), p. 384; Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), pp. 215–216.

[17] Calvin L. Porter, 'A Textual Analysis of the Earliest Manuscripts of the Gospel of John' (unpubl. diss., Duke University, 1961); Calvin L. Porter, 'Papyrus Bodmer XV (P75) and the Text of Codex Vaticanus', *JBL* 81 (1962) 363–376; Carlo M. Martini, *Il problema della recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV* (Analecta Biblica 26; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966).

[18] Gordon D. Fee, '𝔓75, 𝔓66, and Origen: The Myth of Early Textual Recension in Alexandria.' in *Studies*, pp. 247–273.

[19] Eldon J. Epp, 'The Twentieth-Century Interlude in New Testament Textual Criticism', *JBL* 93 (1974) 386–414, especailly p. 393.

[20] Epp, 'Decision Points', p. 42.

More recently, as noted above, Brent Nongbri has reopened the case by challenging the accepted dating of 𝔓75 and, accordingly, the central place occupied by this manuscript in the history of the text.[21] While Nongbri thinks that the commonly assigned date of 175–225 CE remains possible, he presents arguments in favour of a fourth-century date. First, he argues on palaeographic grounds for a later date by showing the proximity of the hands of 𝔓75 and P. Herm. 4 and 5 (dated to the 320s).[22] Second, Nongbri draws attention to the archaeological context of 𝔓75 as one of the Bodmer papyri, most of which 'are assigned to the third to the fifth century with a clustering in the fourth century'.[23] Third, the physical appearance of 𝔓75 is akin to the Nag Hammadi codices, which are generally dated to the middle of the fourth century or later.[24] Finally, Nongbri points to the remarkable level of textual agreement with the fourth-century Codex Vaticanus not as proof against an Alexandrian recension in the fourth century, but rather 'as an additional piece of evidence in favour of a fourth-century date for the

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[21] Nongbri, 'Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV (𝔓75)', pp. 405–437.

[22] Nongbri suggests that P. Herm. 4 and 5 so far, 'constitute the closest securely dated paleographic match … for 𝔓75' ('Papyrus Bodmer XIV-XV', p. 421).

[23] Nongbri, 'Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV (𝔓75)', p. 427. James M. Robinson, who devoted much effort to tracing the provenance of the Bodmer Papyri, identified them as part of a Pachomian monastic library that was discovered in a jar in 1952 north-west of the town of Dishna in Egypt (between ancient Panopolis and Thebes). See James M. Robinson, *The Pachomian Monastic Library at the Chester Beatty Library and the Bibliothèque Bodmer* (Occasional Papers 19; Claremont: Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, 1990). For a discussion of 𝔓72 in this context, see Tommy Wasserman, 'Papyrus 72 and the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex', *NTS* 51 (2005) 137–154. Brent Nongbri has recently offered improvements to the codicological reconstruction in 'The Construction of P.Bodmer VIII and the Bodmer "Composite" or "Miscellaneous" Codex', *NovT* 58 (2016) 394–410.

[24] Nongbri, 'Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV (𝔓75)', p. 430. Nongbri's additional argument that there are later marginal additions that imply 'that the codex was in use during the fourth century and possibly the fifth century' (p. 432) does not oppose the early dating of the codex, but rather tells against the suggestion that, since it was not produced with the books of the monastic library to which it once belonged (the Dishna Papers), 𝔓75 was no longer in use by the fourth century but had rather become a 'relic'. See Robinson, *Pachomian Monastic Library*, p. 6.

production of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ itself'.[25] Consequently, Nongbri concludes that 'textual critics of the New Testament may need once again to entertain the idea that the "B Text" is indeed the result of some sort of recensional activity in the fourth century'.[26]

This is not the place for an evaluation of all of Nongbri's arguments for a redating of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$. Nevertheless, I find his palaeographic analysis compelling.[27] Michael W. Holmes has recently spelled out the consequences if we accept a redating of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ (and $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$) as proposed by Nongbri:

> At present, however, the dates of our earliest manuscript witnesses, in particular the Bodmer papyri, long taken for granted as a 'fixed point', are now the subject of renewed discussion, including proposals to re-date them from the late 2nd/early 3rd century to the late 3rd or mid-4th century. The effects of such a re-dating would be consequential: Origen would once again be viewed as the earliest documentable witness of an important trajectory, rather than merely a point on it, and the size of the 'gap' between the earliest circulating copies and the earliest extant manuscripts would increase considerably.[28]

The question, then, is whether $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ is our only secure evidence of a 'B Text' dating to around 200 CE. Unfortunately, the earliest extant papyri from the turn of the second century are still very few and fragmentary and must be evaluated with caution.[29]

I would like to draw particular attention to two of these manuscripts that preserve sufficient text to allow for a more secure conclusion: $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$

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[25] Nongbri, 'Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV ($\mathfrak{P}^{75}$)', p. 437.

[26] Nongbri, 'Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV ($\mathfrak{P}^{75}$)', p. 437.

[27] In this connection, it is interesting to note that Pasquale Orsini too has moved the date of both $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ later. In 2012 he and Willy Clarysse assigned them to the first half of the third century (Orsini and Clarysse, 'Early New Testament Manuscripts', pp. 470–471). However, in 2015 he dated them to the 3rd/4th century CE. See Pasquale Orsini, 'I papiri Bodmer: scritture e libri', *Adamantius* 21 (2015), p. 77.

[28] Michael W. Holmes, 'Early Writers and Early Text(s) of the New Testament?' (paper presented at the SNTS Annual Meeting, Montreal, 5 August 2016).

[29] The most detailed overview of the text of the New Testament papyri is *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: OUP, 2012).

(Luke) and $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$ (Matthew), which were copied by the same scribe and possibly belonged to the same codex—an issue I have discussed elsewhere.[30] In NA28 these papyri are dated to 200–250 CE, but Orsini and Clarysse date them to 175–200 CE for good reasons.[31]

The text of $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$ is strikingly similar to that of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ and Codex Vaticanus (B). William Warren has conducted a quantitative analysis in which he compared the text of $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$ in Luke to a number of control witnesses representing a spectrum of different texts in 120 genealogically significant variation-units.[32] He calculated the following quantitative relationships of $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$, presented in Table 2 in descending order:

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[30] For an extensive discussion and analysis of $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$ (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Suppl. Gr. 1120), $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$ (Oxford, Magdalen College, Gr. 18B) and $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$ Montserrat, Abadia de Montserrat II 1), see Tommy Wasserman, 'A Comparative Textual Analysis of $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$', *TC* 15 (2010) 1–27. See also C.E. Hill, 'Intersections of Jewish and Christian Scribal Culture: The Original Codex Containing $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{64}$, and $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$, and its Implications', in *Among Jews, Gentiles and Christians in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. R. Hvalvik and J. Kaufman (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2011), 75–92 and Simon Gathercole, 'The Earliest Manuscript Title of Matthew's Gospel (BnF Suppl. gr. 1120 ii 3 /$\mathfrak{P}^{4}$)', *NovT* 54 (2012) 209–235.

[31] Orsini and Clarysse, 'Early New Testament Manuscripts', p. 470. In their case study they state, '$\mathfrak{P}^{64+67+4}$ *is written in a biblical majuscule belonging to the early phase* of the canon. The writing angle is still uncertain, so that sometimes no shading is visible. This writing is similar to that of P. Vindob. G 29768 (late II-early III; LDAB 2761), as noted by Skeat, and may be attributed, therefore, to a period between the second and third centuries' (p. 461). See also Pasquale Orsini, *Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica, Materiali per un aggiornamento, Studi archeol., artistici, fil. e storici* (Cassino: Università di Cassino, 2005), pp. 85–86, where P. Vindob. G 29784 is offered as an additional comparison from the end of the second century).

[32] William F. Warren, 'P4 and the P75-B Text in Luke' (paper presented at the SBL Annual Meeting, Orlando, 22 November 1998), based on a corrected and expanded analysis from that in William F. Warren, 'The Textual Relationships of P4, P45, and P75 in the Gospel of Luke' (unpubl. diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 1983).

MS	Agreement (%)	Total agreements
B	93%	112/120
$\mathfrak{P}^{75}$	93%	26/28
L	78%	94/120
א	72%	86/120
W	65%	77/118
33	58%	70/120
1	49%	59/120
700	48%	58/120
157	44%	53/120
C	41%	29/70
D	39%	47/119
13	39%	47/120
Θ	35%	42/120
Ψ	33%	39/120
565	33%	39/120
P	29%	35/120
Ω	28%	34/120
A	27%	32/120
TR	26%	31/120

Table 2. Quantitative analysis of $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$ *(Warren)*

Warren thus demonstrated that $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$ was affiliated to witnesses traditionally assigned to the Alexandrian textual cluster, in particular Codex Vaticanus and $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$.

I have analysed $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$ using a different method, first devised by Kurt Aland and subsequently developed by Barbara Aland and her student Kyoung Shik Min, which is particularly suitable for fragmentary papyri.[33] In the following, I will summarise the results which show that $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$ reflect a 'strict' text and transmission character. Tables 3 and 4 show

[33] Wasserman, 'A Comparative Textual Analysis', pp. 1–27; Aland and Aland, *The Text of the New* Testament, pp. 96–101; Barbara Aland, 'Kriterien zur Beurteilung kleinerer Papyrusfragmente des Neuen Testaments', in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis: Festschrift J. Delobel*, ed. A. Denaux; (BETL 161, Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 1–13; Kyoung Shik Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung des Matthäusevangeliums (bis zum 3./4. Jh.)* (ANTF 34; Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 2005), pp. 37–41.

a summary of the textual analysis of 𝔓⁴ and 𝔓64+67 respectively (A=addition; O=omission; WO=word order; SUB=substitutions).

Text	**Variation-units in NA28**	**Lacunose variation-units**	**Additional variation-units where 𝔓⁴ deviates from NA28**	**Ratio of deviation**	**Type of deviation**	**Singular readings**
Luke 1:58–59; 62–2:1; 6–7; 3:8–4:2; 29–35; 5:3–8; 30–6:16	156	33	11	26/134 (19.4%)	3 x A 8 x O 4 x WO 11 x SUB	2 x A 1 x O 1 x WO 4 x SUB

Table 3. Textual analysis of 𝔓⁴

𝔓⁴ was analysed in 134 selected variation-units (156-33+11). In this sample, 𝔓⁴ agrees with the reconstructed initial text (NA28) in 108 units (80.6%) and deviates in twenty-six (19.4%). If we were to include all variation-units in the textual tradition then the relative agreement between 𝔓⁴ and the printed text would be significantly higher. According to this method, the assessment of the transmission character is based on the character of the deviations, namely whether it is likely that they are creations of the scribe. In my opinion, some ten readings out of 134 (7.5%) are likely to be the creations of the scribe while the other reading were probably in the exemplar. Its transmission character is therefore to be classified as 'strict'.

Text	**Variation-units in N28**	**Lacunose variation-units**	**Additional variation-units where 𝔓64+67 deviates from NA28**	**Ratio of deviation**	**Type of deviation**	**Singular readings**
Matt 3:9, 15; 5:20–22, 25–28; 26:7–8, 10, 14–15, 22–23, 31–33	26	13	-	2/13 (15.4%)	1 x O 1 x WO/O	1 x WO /O

Table 4. Textual analysis of 𝔓64+67

𝔓64+67 was analysed in thirteen variation-units (26-13) for this stretch of text. The manuscript agrees with the reconstructed initial text in eleven variation-units (84.6%), whereas it deviates twice from the initial text (15.4%),

consisting of one omission and one transposition (possibly involving an omission). One reading (7.7%) seems to be the creation of the scribe. I have classified its textual quality and transmission character as 'strict', although the classification is based on a limited sample.

A larger analysis of Matthaean papyri dating from the second to the mid-fourth centuries using the same method confirms that the early papyrus witnesses to the gospels represent various points along the spectrum from a 'strict' text and transmission reflecting a concern for accurate copying to a 'free' text and transmission reflecting a free attitude to the text and more careless copying.[34] The proposed redating of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ does not alter this picture, nor does it give reason to revive the idea of a fourth-century recension. I propose that $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$, in particular, offer another 'fixed point' around 200 CE for the trajectory of the 'strict' text.

Furthermore, there are striking paratextual similarities between $\mathfrak{P}^{4+64+67}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$. C.H. Roberts rightly characterised $\mathfrak{P}^{4+64+67}$ as a 'thoroughgoing literary production', including a similar system of textual division to that found in the Bodmer codex and the fourth-century codices (א and B).[35] The quality of both text and paratext point toward a controlled production of these manuscripts.[36] Once again, however, the profound question is

[34] Tommy Wasserman, 'The Early Text of Matthew', in Hill and Kruger, *The Early Text of the New Testament*, pp. 83–107; Larry W. Hurtado, 'The New Testament in the Second Century: Text, Collection and Canon', in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies*, ed. J.W. Childers and D.C. Parker (T&S; Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006), 7; Peter M. Head, 'Some Recently Published New Testament Papyri from Oxyrhynchus: An Overview and Preliminary Assessment', *Tyndale Bulletin* 51 (2000) 10.

[35] C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (Hollowbrook: Oxford, 1979), p. 23: 'In the first, no. 8 [$\mathfrak{P}^{4}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$], the text is divided into sections on a system also found in the Bodmer codex of Luke and John that recurs in some of the great fourth-century codices and was clearly not personal to this scribe … In its handsome script as well as in its organisation ... it is a thoroughgoing literary production'. See also Charles E. Hill, 'Rightly Dividing the Word: Uncovering an Early Template for Textual Division in John's Gospel', in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity,* ed. Daniel M. Gurtner et al., (NTTSD 50; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 217–238.

[36] In Scott Charlesworth's recent study of *Early Christian Gospels: Their Production and Transmission* (Papyrologia Florentia XLVII; Firenze: Edizioni Gonnelli, 2016),

whether the 'strict' text attested in these papyri is simply the result of a second-century recension or whether it reaches back into the first century to the initial stage of the literary history of the gospels.

My final comment with regard to paratextual features concerns a recent observation by Philip B. Payne that in Codex Vaticanus the end of a sentence in the Epistles is frequently marked with high dots, whereas this feature is virtually absent from the Gospels.[37] I do not think that this evidence permits us to say, as Payne does, that the gospel text in Vaticanus must therefore be older than that of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$, which has punctuation.[38] However, he is certainly right that the contrast in punctuation between the Gospels and Epistles in Codex Vaticanus suggests that the scribe was concerned to copy two different exemplars faithfully.

PATRISTIC CITATIONS

In the discussion of the earliest text, several scholars have pointed to the loose biblical citations in second-century Christian writers and attempted to draw conclusions about the character of the manuscripts these authors had

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31–92, 155–212 (summary in table 5.20), he demonstrates that there is a correlation between type of transmission and use/production. Five papyri reflect a 'strict' type of transmission ($\mathfrak{P}^{4}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{5}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{39}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{70}$, and $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$), all of which seem to have been prepared for public use in a controlled setting. In contrast, manuscripts categorised as 'free' ($\mathfrak{P}^{1}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{37}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{69}$) or 'very free' ($\mathfrak{P}^{106}$ and 0171) all seem to have been prepared for private use in an uncontrolled setting. Finally, the 'normal' category reflects an even mix of MSS prepared either for public use in a controlled setting ($\mathfrak{P}^{64}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{66}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{77}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{90}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{121}$) or private use in an uncontrolled setting ($\mathfrak{P}^{22}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{28}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{52}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{53}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{119}$).

[37] Philip B. Payne, 'Vaticanus Distigme-obelos Symbols Mark Added Text Including 1 Corinthians 14.34–5', *NTS* 63 (2017) 621–622.

[38] Payne points out that $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$ uses high stops extensively in contrast to Vaticanus and the papyri traditionally assigned to the second century ($\mathfrak{P}^{52}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{90}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{98}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{104}$) ('Vaticanus Distgme-obelos', 622). In my opinion, the presence of punctuation cannot be used to construct a relative chronology between the witnesses in this way. Punctuation is present in Greek manuscripts from the fourth century BCE and, as Mugridge observes, 'There is some punctuation in a large number of the Christian papyri from the early centuries' (Alan Mugridge, *Copying Early Christian Texts* [WUNT 362; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016], 81). We may also note that punctuation (*cola* in high position and *dicola*) is present in $\mathfrak{P}^{4}$, $\mathfrak{P}^{64+67}$.

at their disposal.[39] William Petersen gives priority to patristic evidence in the recovery of the early text:

> the well-intended student wishing to study the gospel tradition would be better advised to commence his or her studies with an examination of the gospel echoes and 'parallels' in the earliest Fathers and Christian apocrypha, rather than to read about the 'theology' of the evangelists as described by modern scholars on the basis of our modern critical editions.[40]

The first major problem with this procedure is the scarcity of evidence. The Apostolic Fathers cite the New Testament to a very limited extent. The mixture of Synoptic parallel passages in the citations of Justin Martyr yields little more and may derive from sources other than the written gospels. Koester has claimed that the sayings of Jesus were already harmonised in a *Vorlage* produced by Justin or his 'school' in order to create the *one* gospel.[41] In any case, Justin apparently had a high regard for the gospels 'written by the apostles and their followers' (*Dialogue* 103.8). Moreover, he reports that 'the reminiscences of the apostles', referring to the gospels, were read aloud in worship (*Apology* 67.3). The character of Justin's 'citations' thus cannot automatically be used as evidence that the text of the Synoptic Gospels was completely unstable and could be changed during the first and second centuries.

When Petersen uses the story of the Rich Young Man in Matthew 19:17, he proceeds from the deviant form in Justin, 'One is good, my Father in the heavens'.[42] This variant, he suggests, had exceptionally wide dissemination at a very early date, since it is reflected in seven other early witnesses (Tatian's Diatessaron, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, the Old Latin manuscripts VL 2 and VL 5). But is it permissible to conclude, as Petersen does, that this is 'the oldest-known version of this Matthaean pericope', no longer preserved in Greek

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[39] See Koester, 'The Text of the Synoptic Gospels'; Petersen, 'What Text?'; Petersen, 'The Genesis of the Gospels'.

[40] Petersen, 'The Genesis of the Gospels', p. 63; cf. Petersen, 'What Text?', p. 151.

[41] Koester, 'The Text of the Synoptic Gospels', pp. 29–32.

[42] Petersen, 'What Text?', p. 142.

manuscripts?[43] How can we know that this is the earliest form of Matthew? Significantly, the two preceding phrases in Justin which Petersen does not cite, 'Good teacher' and 'Why do you call me good?', instead reflect Mark and Luke.[44] This applies to several of Petersen's examples, where he assumes that early patristic citations are from a specific gospel, without paying attention to the context which suggests otherwise.[45] In sum, the use of patristic evidence in textual criticism requires careful analysis of the context of the citation or allusion, or, as Robert M. Grant has put it, 'patristic citations are not citations unless they have been adequately analyzed'.[46]

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[43] Petersen, 'What Text?', p. 143.

[44] Kline observes as follows: 'Together the Hom and Just attest (1) the combination of Lk 18:19 (= Mk 10:18; τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν;) and Mt 19:17 (εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός) and (2) the substitution of ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς for ὁ θεός. This is strong evidence for a common harmonistic source.' Irenaeus refers to this saying in *Haer* 1.20.2, 'there is one who is good, the Father in the heavens.' Significantly, however, the context suggests that Irenaeus is citing the Gnostic wording of the story, and Irenaeus concludes, 'they [the Marcosians] assert that in this passage the Aeons receive the name of heavens.' See L.L. Kline, 'Harmonized Sayings of Jesus in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Justin Martyr', *ZNW* 66 (1975) 231.

[45] See further Michael W. Holmes, 'Text and Transmission in the Second Century', in *The Reliability of the New Testament: Bart Ehrman & Daniel B. Wallace in Dialogue*, ed. Robert B. Stewart (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011), 68–73; and Holger Strutwolf, 'Original Text and Textual History', in *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research*, ed. Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes (Text-Critical Studies 8; Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 32–39.

[46] Robert M. Grant, 'The Citation of Patristic Evidence in an Apparatus Criticus', in *New Testament Manuscript Studies: The Materials and the Making of a Critical Apparatus*, ed. M.M. Parvis and A.P. Wikgren (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 124. For solid methodological treatments of the use of patristic evidence, see Gordon Fee, 'The Text of John in Origen and Cyril of Alexandria: A Contribution to Methodology in the Recovery and Analysis of Patristic Citations', *Biblica* 52 (1971) 357–394; Gordon Fee, 'The Use of Greek Patristic Citations', *ANRW* 26.1:246–265; Gordon Fee and Roderic L. Mullen, 'The Use of the Greek Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism', in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (2nd edn) pp. 351–373. For examples of extensive analyses of particular passages, see Tommy Wasserman, 'The "Son of God" Was in the Beginning (Mk 1:1)', *JTS* ns 62.1 (2011) 20–50; Tommy Wasserman, 'Bringing Sisters Back Together: Another Look at Luke 10:41–42', *JBL* (forthcoming).

Barbara Aland has demonstrated that in the second century there was a much greater 'freedom' to restyle and paraphrase the text because of the absence of a 'text-consciousness' (*Textbewusstsein*).[47] She suggests that the more recognisable citations towards the end of the second century point to an increasing awareness of the text. Furthermore, she emphasises that it is necessary to differentiate between the use of the biblical text by Christian writers and the copying process by scribes; these parallel practices did not affect each other in the earliest era. If the first was characterised by freedom, the latter was characterised by accuracy.

HARMONISATION

Harmonisation (or 'assimilation') between parallel passages has generally been regarded as a frequent cause of corruption in the gospels. Since scribes tended to harmonise one passage to another, one of the basic principles of textual criticism is therefore to prefer the less harmonious reading.[48] One question that remains, however, is just how frequent this phenomenon is in light of all textual variation. Systematic studies of harmonisation are relatively few and based on very different methods and data sets.[49] A new tool, *Parallel Pericopes*, resulting from the work on the ECM of the Synoptic Gos-

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[47] Barbara Aland, 'Die Rezeption des neutestamentlichen Textes in den ersten Jahrhunderten', in *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, ed. J.-M. Sevrin (Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1989) 1–38.

[48] See Bruce A. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2nd edn; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), p. 13* or Hermann von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* (2nd edn; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911–1913), vol. 1 p. 1427. For the same principle in relation to the LXX and the MT, see Petersen, 'What Text?', p. 146 and n. 41.

[49] A few examples include Willem Wisselink, *Assimilation as a Criterion for the Establishment of the Text: A Comparative Study on the Basis of Passages from Matthew, Mark, and Luke* (DTh dissertation, Theologische Universiteit te Kampen; Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1989); Greg Lanier, 'A Case for the Assimilation of Matthew 21:44 to the Lukan 'Crushing Stone' (20:18), with Special Reference to $\mathfrak{P}^{104}$', *TC* 21 (2016) 1–21, esp. pp. 12–15; Cambry Pardee, 'Scribal Harmonization in Greek Manuscripts of the Synoptic Gospels from the Second to the Fifth Century' (unpubl. diss., Loyola University, Chicago, 2016).

pels, has recently appeared that will enable further, more comprehensive studies of harmonisation in the future.[50]

For Parker, the phenomenon of harmonisation is 'incontrovertible evidence' that 'the traditions remained fluid for centuries, and that the work of the evangelists did not end when they laid down their pens'.[51] In *The Living Text* he examines three majuscule manuscripts representing three textual clusters, Vaticanus ('Alexandrian'), Bezae ('Western') and Dionysiou (Byzantine) in the parallel passages in Matthew 12:1–13 and Mark 2:23–3:5.[52] His analysis reveals fifteen readings in Bezae and five readings in Dionysiou as evident cases of harmonisation, whereas in Vaticanus there are no clear cases at all (but one possible candidate).[53] This is of course a very limited sample, but the results are nevertheless illuminating. Parker ends his investigation by drawing a conclusion about the trustworthiness of these manuscripts:

> Once we have seen how often Codex Bezae borrows from Matthew and Mark, we shall be less inclined to trust it. But Codex Vaticanus hardly ever does, on the present evidence, and we must scrutinise much more carefully the apparent harmonisations, and ask whether it is not the other witnesses that are at fault in reading a text different from that of the other gospels.[54]

Parker here suggests that Vaticanus is generally so trustworthy that, in those rare instances when we find a potential instance of harmonisation, we must be more careful not automatically to presuppose what the author wrote and what the scribe copied in case our decision goes against the known tenden-

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[50] Holger Strutwolf and Klaus Wachtel, eds, *Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maior: Parallel Pericopes: Special Volume Regarding the Synoptic Gospels* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011). The edition gives all textual variants in 154 manuscripts collated in 41 parallel pericopes.

[51] Parker, *Living Text*, p. 205.

[52] Parker, *Living Text*, pp. 40–41.

[53] On p. 201, Parker says that harmonisation accounts for a high proportion of the distinctive readings of Codex Bezae, and that there are over 1200 examples of the phenomenon. Note, however, that the degree of harmonisation is unevenly distributed among the Gospels: see Michael W. Holmes, 'Codex Bezae as a Recension of the Gospels', in *Studies from the Lunel Colloquium*, p. 124.

[54] Parker, *Living Text*, pp. 42–43.

cy of this manuscript not to harmonise.[55] I interpret Parker as saying in *The Living Text* that Vaticanus generally preserves the earliest text that we can reach. It will be interesting to see whether Vaticanus turns out to be the witness closest to the 'initial text' of John, which Parker is now editing.

While the distinctive Bezan text, with very few exceptions, has little claim to represent the initial text, Parker's main point is that this 'remarkably free text' preserves the 'earliest Christian attitude to the tradition'.[56] My point is that this might not have been the only attitude during the earliest period of transmission. Hort had already assessed manuscripts on the basis of harmonisation (or the absence thereof) and concluded that the 'Neutral' text, chiefly represented by Vaticanus, was superior to other text-types in this regard.[57] This result has been confirmed by all subsequent studies of harmonisation.[58] For example, Cambry Pardee's recent study of harmonisation in the Gospel of Luke gives significant information of the remarkable absence of harmonisation in the B-Text trajectory. Table 5 shows the rate of harmonisation per verse in Luke in four of the witnesses included in Pardee's study.

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[55] This accords with Hort's well-known dictum that 'knowledge of documents should precede final judgement upon readings' (*The New Testament*, vol. 2, p. 31). The factor clearly influenced the editors of the UBS *Greek New Testament* in a number of places, for example Luke 12:27 (originally a D-rated passage) where the majority of the Committee after 'much hesitation' rejected the unharmonised reading of D it$^{(a).d}$ syr$^{c.s}$ *al*. See Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, p. 161.

[56] Parker, *Living Text*, p. 202. At times, however, I find Parker's view of Codex Bezae unclear. For example, he says, 'A minority of scholars have maintained that Codex Bezae is not a free text, but the oldest and most authentic form. Others have argued that it *sometimes* presents the best text. Whichever of these positions is correct, the present argument is unaffected' (*Living Text*, p. 201; cf. Ehrman, 'The Text of the Gospels', p. 102; and Petersen, 'What Text?', p. 139 n. 12, who complains that the 'Western' text is 'not the foundation for modern editions'.

[57] Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament*, vol. 2, pp. 250–251.

[58] Wisselink, *Assimilation*, p. 78; Lanier, 'A Case', p. 14; Pardee, 'Scribal Harmonization', pp. 462–465.

MS	Date	Harmonising variants[59]	Number of verses	Rate of harmonisation per verse
𝔓^{4}	ca. 200 CE	2	95	2.1%
𝔓^{75}	3rd/4th cent.	22	758	2.9%
B (03)	4th cent.	26	1.151	2.2%
T (029)	5th cent.	1	138	>1%

Table 5. Rate of harmonisation in the B-Text trajectory

Pardee contrasts this with other early manuscripts which exhibit extensive harmonisation. For example, Codex Guelferbytanus (Q/026) from the fifth century, which he labels a 'proto-Byzantine MS', contains 24 likely harmonising variants in 205 verses of text (11.7%) and an additional 15 possible cases of harmonisation. This leads Pardee to conclude that 'the sheer number of variants shows that harmonisation is a pervasive trait of this textual stream'.[60]

This brings us back to the question of a second-century recension. How would Alexandrian revisers succeed in removing harmonisation from a huge amount of passages, given the supposedly chaotic state of the text during the dynamic period of the first centuries, and where in the early church did the necessary scholarship exist to accomplish this? It has often been suggested that Origen, because of his evident philological skills, was the mind behind the production of an Alexandrian recension. However, the 'strict' text of 𝔓$^{4+64+67}$ antedates Origen. Furthermore, although Origen cited his New Testament text with precision, he changed texts for some books, which suggests that he did not care whether the text was 'pure' or not. Finally, it is evident from a study of Origen's specific comments on variant readings and places where Origen offers multiple variants that, although he was aware of textual variation, he was uncritical in his treatment of the text from the standpoint of modern textual criticism.[61]

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[59] This column gives variants that according to Pardee are most likely to be harmonisations. Some of the witnesses contain additional cases of possible harmonisation (for example, 15 variants in GA 026).

[60] Pardee, 'Scribal Harmonization', p. 452.

[61] Thus, in my opinion, Parker's suggestion that 'the Alexandrian text may have followed Origen's interest in the distinctive character of each Gospel' is misleading (*Living Text*, pp. 119–120); cf. Pack, 'Origen as a Textual Critic', pp. 346–347.

AUTHORIAL STYLE AND THEOLOGY: 'LIVING TEXT' AND 'INITIAL TEXT'

One of the criteria for the use of internal evidence is that of intrinsic probability.[62] It may seem contradictory that scholars who believe that the original text is unattainable are still occupied with the reconstruction of what the author wrote in a given passage. Naturally, scepticism towards the extant manuscript evidence will increase the weight of internal criteria. In Parker's discussion of the complex passages known as the 'Western non-interpolations', mostly in the last chapters of Luke, he frequently appeals to Lukan style and theology.[63] Does this not presume a Luke which we regard as at least approximating the original Luke?

In a recent article, Parker, as editor of the *Editio Critica Maior* of John, reflects on whether and how the 'living text' is compatible with the 'initial text':

> I suspect someone is going to tell me that I have misunderstood the nature of the initial text and that, in trying to find a specific date for it, such as late second century, I am confusing a logical text-critical process with a historical inquiry ... The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method, and with it the initial text, provide a framework for interpreting the development of the tradition downward in time. That is to say, it is a way of explaining what happened after it but not what have gone before. *It offers the possibility of rationally interpreting the surviving tradition.*[64]

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[62] For an overview of this and other criteria for evaluating readings, see Tommy Wasserman, 'Criteria for Evaluating Readings in New Testament Textual Criticism' in Ehrman and Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research* (2nd edn), 579–612.

[63] Parker, *Living Text*, pp. 148–74. See especially his treatment of Luke 22:19–20 and 22:43–44.

[64] D.C. Parker, 'Is 'Living Text' Compatible With 'Initial Text'? Editing the Gospel of John', in Wachtel and Holmes, *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament*, 13–21 (quotation from p. 19; my italics). In Bart Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament*, (2nd edn; Oxford and New York: OUP, 2011), Ehrman discusses this issue in an afterword on pp. 350–352 where he claims that he 'has not observed other critics wrestling with the issue; instead they continue to use intrinsic probabilities even while admitting that we have no access to an authorial text' (p. 351). Inci-

Parker goes on to explain that the initial text is not equal to the authorial text and asks whether exegetical method, specifically the appeal to the style and thought of the author, can offer a tool for bridging the gulf. He continues:

> It is worth observing that the boundaries are certain to be obscured, since textual critics use judgments on style and thought in comparing readings in order to reconstruct the textual history. But only rarely does such analysis depart beyond the readings known in the extant witnesses.[65]

It seems to me that for Parker, the 'initial text' is much closer to the archetype of the tradition than to the presumed authorial text. This, I believe, is connected to his view of the history of the text and the idea that there was a second-century recension. In the following article in the same volume, Holger Strutwolf expresses a very different view of the status of the 'initial text' when he concludes that 'in most cases we are able to produce a valid and stable hypothesis about the original text where there are variant readings in the text of the Greek New Testament'.[66]

In the light of the long-standing cooperation between the INTF and ITSEE and Parker's role as editor of the ECM of John, it is worthwhile reflecting on a discussion about the relationship between the initial text and the authorial text in a joint paper by Parker and Klaus Wachtel which was presented at the SNTS Annual Meeting in Halle in 2005. In this, Parker states:

> The reconstruction of an authorial text is not the editor's brief. Nevertheless, the fact that we insist on speaking about 'initial text' and not 'ar-

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dentally, I brought up this issue in an online discussion with Ehrman on the topic 'initial text and exegesis' in 2008 (online: https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/textualcriticism/conversations/messages/4203). Further, I discussed this apparent contradiction on the part of Ehrman (*Orthodox Corruption*) and Parker (*Living Text*) in a conference presentation in Aarhus in 2008, subsequently published as 'Implications of Textual Criticism' (p. 95).

[65] Parker, 'Is Living Text Compatible?', p. 20.

[66] Holger Strutwolf, 'Original Text and Textual History', in Wachtel and Holmes, *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament*, p. 41; see also Mink, 'Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition', pp. 25–27.

> chetype' is significant. In traditional Lachmannian stemmatics, what happened to the text before the archetype was written was not the editor's business. But if we use text-critical arguments derived from the supposed intention of the author, we have already gone beyond merely reconstructing the first manuscript of the tradition. After all, we use arguments based on style. If we were to restrict our work to the application of transcriptional probability, this and similar arguments based on intrinsic probability would be inadmissible. *We are therefore both insisting that the Initial Text is different from both the authorial text and the archetype, that we cannot reconstruct the former and that what we can reconstruct is more than the latter.*[67]

I think that this definition of the initial text expresses the consensus view which made this co-operation possible in the first place. However, in reality, the editorial team in Münster seems more optimistic in reaching closer to the authors than do their counterparts in Birmingham.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have suggested that, regardless of a recent redating of $\mathfrak{P}^{75}$, there is still evidence of a 'strict' B-Text trajectory in existence in the second century and that the notion of an Alexandrian recension remains problematic for this and other reasons. The evidence from the papyri, I suggest, does not reflect *a single attitude* to the text of the New Testament on the part of the earliest Christians who transmitted the text, but *different early attitudes* to the text. Thus the notion of a living text of the gospels does not exclude the possibility that the earliest copies of the gospels and other books of the New Testament were copied carefully by some scribes from the time they were put in circulation. Further, I have pointed out that patristic evidence must be used with great caution in the recovery of the earliest text, and that the relatively low level of harmonisation in the B-Text is a further indication both of its quality and that it probably is not the result of a textual recension. Finally, I have pointed out that the appeal to intrinsic evidence, widely made by text-critics, reflects an attempt to reach beyond the archetype of

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[67] Klaus Wachtel and D.C. Parker, 'The Joint IGNTP/INTF Editio Critica Maior of the Gospel of John: Its Goals and Their Significance for New Testament Scholarship' (paper presented at the SNTS Annual Meeting, Halle, 2–6 August 2005). Online at: http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/754/ (my italics).

the tradition and presupposes access to at least the approximate text of the authors.

The text-critical task will never be finished, but the rich and growing body of textual evidence and the refining of the methods of textual criticism, such as the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM),[68] may ensure that one of the goals of textual criticism—to reconstruct the 'original text' of the authors—remains an 'impossible possibility'.[69]

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[68] For an introduction to the CBGM, see Tommy Wasserman and Peter J. Gurry, *A New Approach to Text Criticism: Introduction to the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method* (Resources for Biblical Study 80; Atlanta: SBL Press/Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2017).

[69] Reinhold Niebuhr's phrase was first applied to textual studies by R.M. Brown, *The Spirit of Protestantism* (New York: OUP, 1961), pp. 149–150.

2. The Living Text of Mark 13:2: Western Witnesses and the Book of Daniel.

Jeff Cate

To set the stage for the longest discourse in the Gospel of Mark, the Markan Jesus shocks his disciples who were enamoured with the grandeur of the Jerusalem Temple. They expressed amazement at the stones and buildings, but Jesus is not impressed and states 'Not a stone upon a stone will be left here, which will not be thrown down' (Mark 13:2). In the subsequent scene, four disciples then ask Jesus privately about this startling prediction which sets up the Olivet Discourse (Mark 13:5–37). What often goes overlooked is that more than a dozen important early witnesses extend verse 2 to include words from Jesus predicting something to replace the Temple: καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλος ἀναστήσεται ἄνευ χειρῶν ('and in three days another will be raised without hands').[1]

In the third, fourth and fifth centuries, these eight additional words expressed a vital part of the living text of Mark in Greek and Latin witnesses. Just how early this reading goes, however, has never been adequately addressed. This longer reading found prominently in Western textual witnesses has never received much consideration. It has a curious history in print editions that has unfavourably coloured it as an insignificant reading.[2]

[1] All translations in this chapter are the author's own.

[2] The author wishes to express gratitude to Jan Krans (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam) for his assistance with the complicated history of the Greek text in print regarding this variant reading.

RECEPTION HISTORY OF THE WESTERN READING OF MARK 13:2

In 1550, Stephanus' third edition (*Editio Regia*) of his Greek New Testament was the first in print to note variant readings from manuscripts.[3] Stephanus included in the side margins some 389 variant readings from Codex Bezae alone, denoted as β′.[4] At Mark 13:2, however, no marginal note for a variant reading appears, even though one from Codex Bezae was noted merely six verses later (13:8). From 1565–98, Theodore Beza, owner of this eponymous bilingual codex, published four major editions of the Greek New Testament and other minor ones as well. He never noted the reading in print, although his handwritten notes in the centre margin of his personal 1565 edition indicate his awareness of it.[5] It was not until the next century that Brian Walton in his 1657 Polyglot and John Fell in his 1675 Greek New Testament mention in print Bezae's additional words at Mark 13:2.[6]

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, editions of the Greek New Testament noted this reading regularly, but often in ways that dismissed it as a minor harmonisation. In 1707, John Mill famously presented over 30,000 variant readings in his Oxford Greek New Testament, including those from Codex Bezae.[7] In his apparatus at Mark 13:2, Mill noted the reading from 'Cant[abrigiensis]' and attributed it to 'a delirious scribe' (*delirante librario*). And, in his prolegomena, Mill became the first in print to associate this reading with a similar statement later in Mark 14:58.[8] There,

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[3] Robertus Stephanus, ed., *Novum Iesu Christi D. N. Testamentum. Ex Bibliotheca Regia* (Paris: Stephanus, 1550).

[4] Jan Krans, *Beyond What Is Written: Erasmus and Beza as Conjectural Critics of the New Testament*, (NTTS 35; Leiden: Brill, 2006), p. 227 n. 62.

[5] Theodore Beza, hand-copy of his *Novum D. N. Iesu Christi Testamentum* (Geneva: Henricus Stephanus, 1565), shelf mark O4 cd (565) a, Musée historique de la Réformation, Geneva (online: http://doc.rero.ch/record/18245).

[6] Brian Walton, *Ad Biblia sacra polyglotta appendix*. (London: Roycroft, 1657); [John Fell], *Της Καινης Διαθηκης Απαντα Novi Testamenti Libri Omnes. Accesserunt Parallela Scripturae Loca, Nec Non Variantes Lectiones ex plus 100 MSS. Codicibus, Et Antiquis Versionibus Collectae* (Oxford: Sheldon, 1675). Fell noted the source simply as "Ca." for '[Exemplar] Ca[ntabrigiensis quod Bezae fuerat]'.

[7] John Mill, ed., *Η Καινη Διαθηκη. Novum Testamentum Græcum, cum lectionibus variantibus MSS. Exemplarium, Versionem, Editionum, SS. Patrum et Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, et in easdem notis* (Oxford: Sheldon, 1707).

[8] Mill, LXVII, col. a, 'Mar. 13.2 sic Cant. translata huc sententiae parte posterio-

false witnesses claim that Jesus had said, 'I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another, not made with hands.' And thus with Mill begins a long tradition of assuming that the Western reading of 13:2 is simply based on 14:58.

Mill also diminished consideration for this reading with his theory that the Greek column of Bezae had been corrupted by the Latin text on the facing pages. Mill's theory of latinisation went on to become the view of J.J. Wettstein, J.S. Semler, J.J. Griesbach, J. Rendel Harris, among many others.[9] This view denigrated the importance of Bezae's distinct Greek readings as corrupt harmonisations to the Latin side—presumed to be inferior—thus giving textual scholars little reason to put much trust in *any* of Bezae's distinctive readings.

In 1745, the Western reading of Mark 13:2 became accessible to English readers with William Whiston's publication of *The Primitive New Testament*.[10] The volume was his English translation of three early codices—Bezae (GA 05) for the Gospels and Acts, Claromontanus (GA 06) for Paul and Alexandrinus (GA 02) for the Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse. His choice of sources obviously favoured the Western text, when available, for nineteen of the New Testament books. So even though the text of Mark with the longer Western reading in 13:2 could become known in English, the reading was largely considered an idiosyncratic anomaly along with all the other peculiar Western readings that Whiston had preferred and translated.

In 1751, J.J. Wettstein noted the reading in his critical apparatus without any comment, but he also cited Cyprian as additional evidence.[11] Now it was clear that Bezae's text at this point was not a singular reading and that the reading was early. In 1777, J.J. Griesbach also noted the reading and

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ri, ex c.14.v.58. huius Evangelii.'

[9] See D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and Its Text* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), 184–193, which traces the history and influence of Mill's theory of Bezae's latinisation.

[10] William Whiston, *The Primitive New Testament* (London: Whiston, 1745).

[11] Johann Jakob Wettstein, ed., *Novum Testamentum Græcum editionis receptæ, cum Lectionibus Variantibus Codicum MSS., Editionum aliarum, Versionum et Patrum, necnon Commentario pleniore ex Scriptoribus veteribus, Hebræis, Græcis, et Latinis, historiam et vim verborum illustrante* (Amsterdam: Dommerian, 1751).

included additional evidence from the Old Latin tradition indicated as *Itala* (with the exception of two manuscripts).[12]

In 1788, Christian Friedrich Matthaei noted the reading, citing Bezae, Cyprian and *Itala* as evidence.[13] Matthaei also stated that Mill thought it originated with a delirious scribe and Griesbach considered this evidence of a later Western recension, 'wherefore, he [Griesbach] rightly rejected it. Such is the power of truth!' (*Tanta uis ueritatis est!*) wrote Matthaei in Latin. Later, in his 1803 Greek New Testament, Matthaei included another lengthy note in his critical apparatus similar to that from 1788.[14]

In 1827, David Schulz published a new edition of Griesbach's text and in the process became the first to note John 2:19 along with Mark 14:58 as the presumed source for the longer Western reading of Mark 13:2.[15] Others, such as Johann Martin Augustin Scholz (1830), noted the reading, while others, such as Karl Lachmann (1831), did not.[16] Constantin von Tischendorf did not initially include the reading in his editions, but by the time of his seventh edition (1859) he did so, citing Bezae, nine Old Latin manuscripts and Cyprian.[17] In his final *Editio Octava Critica Maior* (1869), he examined the Western reading carefully and noted slight wording differences

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[12] Johann Jakob Griesbach, ed., *Novum Testamentum Graece, Textum ad fidem codicum versionum et patrum emendavit et lectionis varietatem*, vol. 1: Evangelia et Acta Apostolorum (Halle: Curt, 1777).

[13] Christian Friedrich Matthaei, ed., *Evangelium secundum Marcum Graece et Latine. Ex Codicibus nunquam antea examinatis maximam partem Mosquensibus edidit et animadversiones* (Riga: Hartknoch, 1788).

[14] Christian Friedrich Matthaei, ed., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Wittenberg: s.n., 1803). For more on this edition, see page 160 below.

[15] David Schulz, ed., *Novum Testamentum Graece. Textum ad fidem codicum versionum et patrum recensuit et lectionis varietatem adjecit, D. Jo. Jac. Griesbach*, Editionem tertiam emendatam et auctam (Berlin: Laue, 1827).

[16] Johann Martin Augustin Scholz, ed., *Novum Testamentum Graece. Textum ad fidem Testium Criticorum recensuit, Lectionum Familias subjecit, &c.* (Leipzig: Fleischer, 1830); Karl Lachmann, ed., *Novum Testamentum Græce, ex recensione Caroli Lachmanni* (Berlin: Reimer, 1831).

[17] Constantin Tischendorf, ed., *Novum Testamentum Graece. Ad antiquos testes denuo recensuit, Apparatum Criticum omni studio perfectum apposuit, Commentationem Isagogicam praetextuit Constantinus Tischendorf. Editio Septima* (Leipzig: Winter, 1859).

among these witnesses in his apparatus but then added references to Mark 14:58 and John 2:19 for comparison.[18]

Two additional significant Greek editions printed in the nineteenth century also connected the reading with the presumed parallels first noted by Mill and Schulz. In 1857, Samuel P. Tregelles also attributed ('vid.') the reading to both Mark 14:58 and John 2:19.[19] And in 1881 at Cambridge, B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, who famously favoured shorter Alexandrian readings, dismissed the longer reading of Mark 13:2 as a typical Western expansion away from their so-called 'Neutral text'.[20] Their comment in the additional notes briefly states, 'From [Mark] xiv 58; Joh ii 19.'

After Westcott and Hort, the reading falls into obscurity as a minor Western aberration. The reading does not feature today in UBS5, the SBL text, or the recent Tyndale House edition.[21] NA28 does note the reading, but it is cited as a presumed harmonisation to 14:58 and Cyprian goes un-

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[18] Constantin Tischendorf, ed., *Novum Testamentum Graece, ad antiquissimos testes denuo recensuit apparatum criticum omni studio perfectum apposuit commentationem isagogicam praetexuit Constantinus Tischendorf, editio octava critica maior* (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869–72).

[19] Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, ed., *The Greek New Testament, edited from ancient authorities; with the various readings of all the ancient MSS., the ancient versions, and earlier ecclesiastical writers (to Eusebius inclusive); together with the Latin version of Jerome, from the Codex Amiatinus of the sixth century* (London: Bagster, Stewart, 1857).

[20] Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, eds, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1881).

[21] Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger, eds, *The Greek New Testament. Fifth Revised Edition prepared by the Institute for New Testament Textual Research, Münster/Westphalia under the direction of Holger Strutwolf* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2014); Michael W. Holmes, ed., *The Greek New Testament: SBL Edition* (Atlanta: SBL, 2010); Dirk Jongkind, Peter J. Williams, Peter M. Head, and Patrick James, eds, *The Greek New Testament, produced at Tyndale House, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Tyndale House, 2017). UBS5 does note the variant readings for ὧδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον in its critical apparatus.

mentioned.[22] In 1928, C.H. Turner summed up this sentiment succinctly: 'These words … are clearly not independent of xiv 58.'[23]

Since then, rarely has the Western reading of Mark 13:2 received much attention. Specialised studies of Mark, the Temple, or the Olivet Discourse seldom discuss or even indicate awareness of this important early reading. Only five scholars have ever looked favourably on it. Three of those (Whiston, Adalbert Merx and Albert C. Clark) did so due to their adoption of the primacy of the Western text as a whole.[24] In 1935, A.T. Cadoux favoured this Western reading of Mark 13:2, but his role in this matter suffers from his peculiar theory about the origins of the Gospel of Mark, which has found little or no acceptance.[25] More recently, in his 2012 essay on the Latin version of the New Testament, Philip Burton was unwilling to dismiss this reading as a late addition to the text and gave new attention to it as an example of the importance of the Latin witnesses. Burton concluded that in Mark 13:2 'the Old Latin witnesses attest a form of text that is relatively early and possesses genuine merit'.[26]

TEXTUAL EVIDENCE FOR THE WESTERN READING OF MARK 13:2

Thirteen witnesses provide positive evidence for the longer reading of Mark 13:2.

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[22] Barbara and Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger, eds, *Novum Testamentum Graece, based on the work of Eberhard and Erwin Nestle, 28th Revised Edition* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012).

[23] C.H. Turner, 'Western Readings in the Second Half of St. Mark's Gospel', *JTS* os 29 (1928) 8.

[24] Whiston, *The Primitive New Testament*; Adalbert Merx, *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien nach ihrem ältesten bekannten Texte*, *II. Erläuterungen* (Berlin: Reimer, 1902, 1905, 1911); Albert C. Clark, *The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1914).

[25] Arthur Temple Cadoux, *The Sources of the Second Gospel* (New York: Macmillan, 1935), p. 177.

[26] Philip Burton, 'The Latin Version of the New Testament', *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis,* ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (2nd edn; Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 193. Burton, however, has an unfortunate typographical error of μετά for διά and then complicates the matter unnecessarily by conjecturing that ἐμαρτυροῦν stood for ἐψευδομαρτυροῦν.

(1, 2) Both the Greek (GA 05/D) and Latin (VL 5, it[d]) sides of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis from the fifth century have the longer reading of Mark 13:2:

και δια τριων ημερων αλλος αναστησεται ανευ χειρων

et post tertium diem aliut resuscitetur sine manibus.

(3) Codex Washingtonianus (GA 032/W, the so-called 'Freer Gospels') from the fifth century is a second witness in Greek to the addition with a wording identical to that in Codex Bezae.[27] While the presence of block mixture in this manuscript is well known, this reading is found outside the recognized Western block in the opening five chapters of Mark:

και δια τριων ημερων αλλος αναστησεται ανευ χειρων.

(4) Codex Bobiensis (VL 1, it[k]), an Old Latin manuscript from Africa in the fourth century, whose text might predate Cyprian, has the longer reading:[28]

et post triduum alium ut excitabitur sine manibus.

(5) Codex Palatinus (VL 2, it[e]), an Old Latin manuscript copied in northern Italy in the fifth century, has the reading:

et post triduo alius excitabitur sine manibus.

(6) Codex Vercellensis (VL 3, it[a]), an Old Latin manuscript from Italy in the late fourth century, has the reading:

et in triduo aliut resuscitetur sine manib(*us*).

(7) Codex Veronensis (VL 4, it[b]), a deluxe Old Latin manuscript of purple vellum from Italy in the late fifth century, has the reading:

et in triduo aliut resuscitetur sine manib(*us*).

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[27] Kurt and Barbara Aland, eds, *Text und Textwert der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, IV. Die Synoptischen Evangelien, 1. Das Markusevangelium* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), p. 354 has an unfortunate error at this point in that it fails to cite 032 as having this longer reading along with 05. This probably happened due to the manner in which the evidence for the *Teststellen* was gathered by spot-checking manuscripts for specific readings.

[28] See H.A.G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament* (Oxford: OUP, 2016), p. 10.

(8) Codex Colbertinus (VL 6, it^{c}), a Latin manuscript from the twelfth century in southern France, even though it has the four Gospels in the Vulgate order (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John), has the non-Vulgate addition in its text:

et in triduo resuscitabo illud sine manibus.

(9) Codex Corbeiensis secundus (VL 8, it^{ff2}), an Old Latin manuscript from Italy in the fifth century, has the reading:

et in triduo illud resuscitetur sine manibus.

(10) Codex Usserianus primus (VL 14, it^{r1}), an Old Latin manuscript from Ireland in the seventh century, has the reading:

et in triduo aliud resur<... si>ne manibus.

(11) Codex Sangallensis 1394 (VL 16, it^{n}), an Old Latin manuscript from the fifth century, is lacking the first part of the verse, reading:

<...> *alius resurget sine manibus.*

(12) Codex Vindobonensis 1235 (VL 17, it^{i}), an Old Latin manuscript from Italy from the end of the fifth century, has the reading:

et in tridum aliud resurget sine manib(*us*).

(13) Cyprian, *Ad Quirinum* (*Testimoniorum libri III*) 1.15, *ca.* 248–50 CE, is the only known patristic writer to mention the reading.

et post triduum aliud excitabitur sine manibus.

The evidence from Cyprian requires further explanation. Coming from the mid-third century, Cyprian is the earliest attestation of the longer reading of Mark 13:2 and thus takes the reading back to a time earlier than our surviving manuscripts.[29] And Cyprian's text is not insignificant. At the end of the next century, Ambrosiaster explicitly named Cyprian as a trustworthy source when encountering differences in Greek and Latin manuscripts.[30]

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[29] Mark 13:2 is occasionally cited in other patristic writings (e.g., Chrysostom, Theodoret, Gregory of Nyssa), but never with the longer Western reading as found in Cyprian and never by another ante-Nicene father.

[30] In his commentary on Romans 5:14 in the 380s CE, Ambrosiaster addressed the problem of textual variants and openly expressed his overall confidence in the

Unfortunately, however, J.-P. Migne wrongly identified this citation in Cyprian as a combination of material from Matthew 24:2 (the parallel to Mark 13:2) and Mark 14:58, not the Western text of Mark 13:2.[31] The full quote from Cyprian is:

> *Non relinquetur in templo lapis super lapidem qui non dissoluetur/destruetur et post triduum aliud excitabitur sine manibus.*[32]

There are four significant reasons why Cyprian's citation should be considered a quotation from the Western text of Mark 13:2 and not Matthew 24:2 and Mark 14:58:

(1) The phrase *in templo* is not found in Latin manuscripts of Matthew 24:2, but only in Latin manuscripts of Mark 13:2 such as Bobiensis (VL 1), Palatinus (VL 2) and Colbertinus (VL 6).
(2) The verb *dissoluetur* does not occur in Latin manuscripts of Matthew 24:2, but only Latin manuscripts of Mark 13:2.[33]
(3) The expression *sine manibus* (instead of *non manufactus*) is only found in Daniel 2 and the Western text of Mark 13:2. It is not the wording of Mark 14:58.
(4) It seems highly unlikely that Cyprian, who attests Western readings from the Gospels elsewhere in his writings, coincidentally used two quotes from separate gospels that just happen to combine to form the well-attested wording of the Western text of a whole verse.

The external evidence for the longer Western reading of Mark 13:2 is thus early, sizeable and impressive. Even though the Old Latin witnesses are unlikely all to represent independent points of contact with Greek tradition, the extent of the attestation and the textual variance between them make it worth citing them individually. What is more, all but two of the thirteen witnesses to this longer text are from the third, fourth, or fifth centuries, which is significant considering the paucity of early evidence available for the text of Mark. Apart from the ten manuscripts listed above, there are only three other extant manuscripts for Mark 13:2 from the first five centu-

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text of Tertullian, Victorinus, and Cyprian.

[31] *PL* 4, col. 687.

[32] Migne prints *dissoluetur* in the text but notes *destruetur* among Lectiones Variantes (*Ar. Bod. E Lam. NC. 1.*).

[33] The variant reading *destruetur* is present in Latin manuscripts at both Matthew 24:2 and Mark 13:2, but probably represents a harmonisation to Matthew.

ries, Codices Sinaiticus, Vaticanus and Alexandrinus.[34] Unfortunately, P.Beatty I ($\mathfrak{P}^{45}$) breaks off at Mark 12:28 and few other papyri of Mark survive.[35] The lack of evidence from $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ is disappointing for two reasons. First, $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ evidently followed the so-called Western order of the Gospels (Matthew, John, Luke, Mark) along with nearly all the witnesses for the longer reading of Mark 13:2.[36] Second, Larry Hurtado has demonstrated that $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ has its closest textual affinities in Mark to Codex Washingtonianus, which also has the longer reading at Mark 13:2.[37]

At times, variant readings found in Western witnesses face an uphill struggle to compete for recognition because these texts have a tendency to

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[34] Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus (GA 04/C) is lacunose in Mark 12:30–13:18. For a survey of the early Greek evidence for the text of Mark, see Peter M. Head, 'The Early Text of Mark', in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger, (Oxford: OUP, 2012), pp. 108–120.

[35] Other than $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$, the only other papyrus evidence for Mark is $\mathfrak{P}^{84}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{88}$, which contain tiny portions of Mark 2 and 6 respectively.

[36] As Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri* (London: Walker, 1933) published the plates of leaves from $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$ in the Vulgate order (Mt, Mk, Lk, Jn), it has often been forgotten that Skeat has established codicologically that Chester Beatty I had the Western order of the Gospels (T.C. Skeat, 'A Codicological Analysis of the Chester Beatty Papyrus Codex of the Gospels and Acts (P45)', *Hermathena* 155 (1993) 27–43). The only manuscript above with the longer reading but not the Western order of the gospels is the very late (and mixed-text) Latin Codex Colbertinus (VL 6, it^{c}). The original sequence of the Gospels in Codex Bobiensis (VL 1, it^{k}) is unclear since only parts of Mark and Matthew are extant (in that order). Only three other significant Greek or Latin manuscripts have the Western order of the Gospels: the Greek Codex Monacensis (GA 033/X), in which the Western wording of Mark 13:2 would have occurred precisely at the page break from the bottom of the second column on fol. 106r to the top of the first column on fol. 106v, the Latin Codex Brixianus (VL 10, it^{f}) which is lacunose at Mark 12:5–13:32 and the Latin Codex Monacensis (VL 13, it^{q}) which originally had the four Gospels in the Western order, but the folios were subsequently rearranged to the Vulgate order; its text is Old Latin with Vulgate mixture, and it does not have the longer Western reading in Mark 13:2.

[37] Larry W. Hurtado, *Text-Critical Methodology and the Pre-Caesarean Text: Codex W in the Gospel of Mark,* (SD 43; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), pp. 63–66. Hurtado never discusses the Western ending of Mark 13:2 despite its presence in Codex W.

include sizeable expansions considered late and inauthentic. Such noteworthy singular readings can be found in many of these Western witnesses including Codices Vercellensis (Matthew 3:15), Bobiensis (Mark 16:3) and Bezae (too numerous to cite). But this longer Western reading in Mark 13:2 is no mere singular reading. It is part of the text consistently found in virtually every known Western witness to this verse.[38] And the designation of 'Western' witnesses implies a textual rather than a geographical relationship. These witnesses are called Western because of readings in their texts which align with patristic writers from Italy, Gaul and North Africa, but this does not mean these witnesses all originate in the West. Eldon Epp has urged textual specialists to adopt other terminology, such as 'D-text cluster,' to avoid this misunderstanding.[39] For example, our most significant 'Western' witness (Codex Bezae) probably originated from Beirut.[40] Even Hort wrote:

> As far as we can judge from extant evidence, it [the Western text] was the most widely spread text of Ante-Nicene times; and sooner or later every version directly or indirectly felt its influence.[41]

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[38] In contrast, a singular Western reading related to this topic is found in Codex Rehdigeranus (VL 11, *it*[l]) from the eighth century. In its Latin text of Luke 23:39, one of the crucified criminals echoes the claims of false witnesses and by-standers from Mark (14:58; 15:29) by reviling Jesus, 'You who would destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days' (*qui destruebas templum et in tribus diebus reaedificabas illum*). So this manuscript includes a third expression of Jesus' claim to destroy and rebuild the temple, this time from one of those crucified with Jesus and not just false witnesses (Mark 14:58) and bystanders (Mark 15:29), yet this variant reading represents an odd and haphazard singular form found only in Rehdigeranus, quite unlike the attestation for the longer ending of Mark 13:2 found across thirteen textual witnesses.

[39] Eldon Jay Epp, 'The Significance of the Papyri for Determining the Nature of the New Testament Text in the Second Century: A Dynamic View of Textual Transmission', in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism*, ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon D. Fee (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), pp. 283–297; Epp, 'Textual Clusters: Their Past and Future in New Testament Textual Criticism', in Ehrman and Holmes, ed., *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, pp. 519–577.

[40] Parker, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 28, 268–283.

[41] Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, p. 120.

The nature of these thirteen witnesses as Western sources should not be misunderstood as being limited in geographical spread. These thirteen witnesses represent an early and broad tradition, not just an idiosyncratic reading of a single rogue manuscript.[42]

HARMONISATION TO MARK 14:58 OR DEPENDENCE ON DANIEL?

From John Mill (1707) to NA28 (2012), the longer reading of Mark 13:2 is frequently described as a harmonisation to the words of Jesus found elsewhere in the Gospels, usually Mark 14:58 and sometimes John 2:19. During the interrogation of Jesus in Mark 14:58, false witnesses report a claim that Jesus had threatened to destroy and rebuild the Temple. And the Johannine Jesus declares early in the Fourth Gospel during his Temple protest, 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up' (John 2:19). But is either of these verses really the basis for the longer reading in Mark 13:2?

The Gospel according to Mark is heavily dependent upon the book of Daniel for key terms, concepts and phrasing, not to mention apocalyptic perspective and themes such as martyrdom, eschatological immediacy and resurrection as reward for the righteous. Key concepts such as 'the Son of Man' and even more specifically 'coming with clouds' are the language of Daniel.[43] The concept of 'kingdom' which serves as the central topic of Jesus' teaching in Mark is heavily based on Daniel's usage.[44] And in the Olivet Discourse, Mark's use of Daniel is heavily concentrated. The central and

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[42] Parker, *Codex Bezae*, p. 96, warns that even when we come across singular readings in Codex Bezae, we must remember that 'we are demonstrably dealing with a tradition and not with a single aberrant manuscript'. Elsewhere he cautions that 'It would be strange if D [Bezae] were not sometimes right against B [Vaticanus]. Both texts have their merits and their defects. It is by critical use of both that the older text will be uncovered.' (D.C. Parker, 'The Development of Textual Criticism since B.H. Streeter', in *Manuscripts, Texts, Theology--Collected Papers 1977–2007* [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009], p. 158).

[43] Regarding 'Son of Man', see Mark 2:10, 28; 8:31, 38; 9:9, 12, 31; 10:33, 45; 13:26; 14:21 (x2), 41, 62; compare Daniel 7:13; 8:17. Regarding 'coming with clouds', see Mark 13:26; 14:62; compare Daniel 7:13.

[44] Mark 1:15; 3:24 (x2); 4:11, 26, 30; 6:23; 9:1, 47; 10:14, 15, 23, 24, 25; 11:10; 12:34; 13:8 (x2); 14:25; 15:43. βασιλεια is mentioned 61 times in Theodotion's text of Daniel.

specific focal point of that chapter is the 'abomination of desolation', a phrase distinctly drawn from Daniel's apocalyptic visions.[45]

This heavy use of Daniel throughout Mark and especially the Olivet Discourse becomes crucial when trying to understand the Western text of Mark 13:2. Essentially, those eight extra Greek words can be divided into four parts, each of which has direct correspondence to the language and concepts of Daniel. To demonstrate this correspondence, it is easier to start at the end of the reading where the dependence is clear and then work backwards towards the beginning where it is more subtle.

(1) **ἄνευ χειρῶν/*sine manibus* ('without hands')**. Many scholars, including Mill, Tregelles, Tischendorf, and Westcott and Hort, have assumed that 'without hands' indicates a simple harmonisation to Mark 14:58 where false witnesses claim that Jesus had said he would build another temple 'not made with hands'. On closer examination, however, the wording of the two phrases in Greek does not match. In Mark 14, the term is ἀχειροποίητος, the standard term (with or without an alpha privative) used two dozen times throughout the Greek Bible to describe objects, especially temples, as made (or not made) with human hands.[46] Likewise, the Latin equivalent used throughout the Vulgate is *manufactus*. But in Mark 13:2, the phrase is neither [ἀ]χειροποίητος in Greek nor *manufactus* in Latin. The phrase is consistently and uniformly ἄνευ χειρῶν in Greek and *sine manibus* in Latin in each of the thirteen witnesses with the longer Western reading of this verse. Significantly, the phrase occurs in only one other passage in the entire Greek or Latin Bible, the second chapter of Daniel.

Daniel 2:34–35, 44–45 (Theodotion)	**Daniel 2:34–35, 44–45 (English)**
2:34 ἐθεώρεις, ἕως οὗ ἐτμήθη **λίθος** ἐξ ὄρους **ἄνευ χειρῶν** καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας τοὺς σιδηροῦς καὶ ὀστρακίνους καὶ ἐλέπτυνεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος. 2:35 τότε ἐλεπτύνθησαν εἰς ἅπαξ τὸ ὄστρακον, ὁ σίδηρος, ὁ χαλκός,	2:34 You were looking, until **a stone** was cut from a mountain **without hands** and it struck the image at the iron-clay feet and it completely pulverised them. 2:35 Then the clay, the iron, the bronze, the silver, the gold were

[45] See Mark 13:14; compare Daniel 11:31; 12:11; also 1 Maccabees 1:54 which seems dependent on the language of Daniel or traditions associated with it.

[46] Compare Leviticus 26:1, 30; Judith 8:18; Wisdom 14:8; Isaiah 2:18; 10:11; 16:12; 19:1; 21:9; 31:7; 46:6; Daniel 5:4, 23; 6:28; 14:4; Mark 14:58 (x2); Acts 7:48; 17:24; 2 Corinthians 5:1; Ephesians 2:11; Colossians 2:11; Hebrews 9:11, 24.

ὁ ἄργυρος, ὁ χρυσὸς καὶ ἐγένοντο ὡσεὶ κονιορτὸς ἀπὸ ἅλωνος θερινῆς· καὶ ἐξῆρεν αὐτὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ πνεύματος, καὶ τόπος οὐχ εὑρέθη αὐτοῖς· καὶ **ὁ λίθος** ὁ πατάξας τὴν εἰκόνα ἐγενήθη ὄρος μέγα καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. 2:44 καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν βασιλέων ἐκείνων **ἀναστήσει** ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ **βασιλείαν**, ἥτις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας οὐ διαφθαρήσεται, καὶ **ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ** λαῷ ἑτέρῳ οὐχ ὑπολειφθήσεται· λεπτυνεῖ καὶ λικμήσει πάσας τὰς βασιλείας, καὶ αὐτὴ **ἀναστήσεται** εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, 2:45 ὃν τρόπον εἶδες ὅτι ἀπὸ ὄρους ἐτμήθη **λίθος ἄνευ χειρῶν** καὶ ἐλέπτυνεν τὸ ὄστρακον, τὸν σίδηρον, τὸν χαλκόν, τὸν ἄργυρον, τὸν χρυσόν. ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ἐγνώρισεν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ ἀληθινὸν τὸ ἐνύπνιον, καὶ πιστὴ ἡ σύγκρισις αὐτοῦ.	pulverised at once and became like dust from a summer threshing floor; and wind gusts blew them away and their location was no longer found; and **the stone** that struck the image became a great mountain and it filled the entire earth. 2:44 And in the days of those kings, the God of heaven **will raise up a kingdom**, which will never be ruined, and **his kingdom** will not be deserted for another people; he will pulverise and scatter all the kingdoms, and this [kingdom] **will be raised up** forever, 2:45 as you saw, **a stone** was cut from a mountain **without hands** and it pulverised the clay, the iron, the bronze, the silver and the gold. The great God has made known to the king the things which must happen after these things, and the dream is true, and its interpretation sound.

Daniel 2 is the description and interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a large statue with a head of gold, chest of silver, trunk of bronze, legs of iron and feet of clay. The towering image appears immense, intimidating and unconquerable, except that the materials become more and more inferior (2:31–33). Ultimately, the entire figure comes to an end when a *stone* (λίθος) that was cut *without hands* (ἄνευ χειρῶν) from a mountain comes and strikes the statue and pulverises it (2:34–35a). 'But the stone that struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth' (2:35b). Next, Daniel *interprets* this vision (2:36–45) that he just described. The statue represents a succession of earthly kingdoms which get progressively weaker until the God of heaven sets up his own kingdom that shall never be destroyed (2:44a), a kingdom which will crush all those other earthly kingdoms and bring them to an end (2:44b). God's kingdom shall *be raised up* (Theodotion: ἀναστήσεται) forever (2:44c) and again, mention is made of a stone (λίθος) cut 'without hands' (ἄνευ χειρῶν, *sine manibus*) from a mountain that pulverises this towering statue of worldly kingdoms (2:45).

Twice within these twelve verses, the stone is described as cut 'without hands' (ἄνευ χειρῶν, *sine manibus*) from a mountain. And these are *the only occurrences* of that phrase in the entire Greek or Latin Bible, *except* for the Western text of Mark 13:2.[47] 'Without hands' in Mark 13:2 is not dependent on Mark 14:58 as textual critics had thought. It is dependent on Daniel 2.

(2) **ἀναστήσεται ('will be raised')**. Working backwards from the end, next comes the verb ἀναστήσεται. Since this sounds like the language of resurrection (Mark 12:23–25), and especially Jesus' resurrection (Mark 8:31; 9:9, 10, 31; 10:34), Schulz, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, and others assumed that the Western text of Mark 13:2 was simply a harmonisation to John 2:19–22. There, Jesus' statement about Temple destruction and rebuilding is explicitly connected to Jesus' resurrection.

Looking again at the wording of Daniel 2, however, is that really the case? The verb ἀνίστημι is used twice in Daniel 2:44 to refer to the kingdom of God being 'raised up'. And this connection can easily be overlooked because the Old Greek Septuagint uses the simpler verb ἵστημι without the ἀνα prefix. As is well known, there were two considerably different Greek versions of Daniel in circulation—so different that Rahlfs published both texts in two columns on the same page.[48] It was *Theodotion's* text, not the Old Greek Septuagint, that was so popular in the early church.[49] So, in the light of the use of ἄνευ χειρῶν from Daniel 2, it is much more likely that the use of ἀναστήσεται in the longer Western reading of Mark 13:2 is based on ἀναστήσει in Theodotion's text of Daniel 2:44, not John 2:19–22 as textual critics had thought.[50]

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[47] Technically, in Latin, the phrase *sine manibus* also occurs once in 2 Esdras 13:36 (also known as 4 Esdras), but that passage postdates Mark and was probably influenced by the language of Daniel 2. See B.M. Metzger, 'The Fourth Book of Ezra: A New Translation and Introduction', in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Volume 1*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1983), pp. 517–559.

[48] Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935).

[49] For example, when Eusebius quotes Daniel 2:44, he also uses Theodotion's ἀνίστημι, not the uncompounded form ἵστημι found in the LXX (*Eclogae Propheticae* 1.42; *PG* 22, col. 1173). Jerome notes the preference for Theodotion's text rather than the Old Greek (LXX) in the Prologue to his *Commentary on Daniel*.

[50] It is important to note that the only statement of Temple destruction and rebuilding that is explicitly linked to Jesus' death and resurrection is John 2:19–22. The connection with resurrection seems to be a Johannine peculiarity. It is possible

(3) **ἄλλος ('another')**. Continuing to work backwards through the Western reading of Mark 13:2, next is the adjective ἄλλος. Due to the misleading assumptions that 'without hands' and 'will be raised' are harmonisations to Mark 14 and John 2, typically this adjective is assumed to be referring to 'another *temple*' that will be raised without hands in three days. The problem, however, is that this is not grammatically possible.

What does ἄλλος modify? It is not ναός ('temple sanctuary') because that term is not used in Mark until later, in chapters 14–15.[51] The Greek noun ἱερόν (the more generic term for 'temple') is used in the passages leading up to Mark 13, including two instances in the immediate context of verses 1–3. But ἄλλος does not modify ἱερόν because it is the wrong gender. Ἱερόν is neuter. Ἄλλος is masculine. Grammatically in Mark 13:2, ἄλλος cannot be referring to a temple—neither ναός nor ἱερόν—replacing the one predicted to be destroyed. Furthermore, ἄλλος cannot be modifying the noun οἰκοδομαί ('buildings'), which occurs twice in the immediate context (13:1–2), because the gender and number of the words do not match either. Ἄλλος is masculine singular while οἰκοδομαί is feminine plural. This leaves one and only one possibility as to what ἄλλος is modifying. Ἄλλος is simply modifying λίθος ('stone'). The Western witnesses at 13:2 are describing another *stone* that will be raised, not a temple: 'Not a stone upon a stone will be left here, which will not be thrown down, and in three days another ***stone*** will be raised without hands.' If the longer Western ending of 13:2 is read in a critical apparatus apart from the rest of the verse in the text, it is easy to presume wrongly that ἄλλος refers to a temple and fail to notice that it modifies λίθος.

In the light of Daniel 2, this reading makes complete sense. 'Another stone' that 'will be raised' 'without hands' 'in three days' is Daniel's unstoppable conquering stone that demolishes the colossal statue representing the kingdoms of this world. The western reading of Mark 13:2 is simply paraphrasing Daniel 2:34–35, 44–45. The unstoppable conquering stone is the kingdom of God both in Daniel and in Mark, and especially here in the Western text of Mark 13:2. 'Another stone raised without hands' is neither

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that the references to the resurrection of the Son of Man 'after three days' in Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:34 do not so much originate from Hosea 6:3 or Jonah's three days (as many scholars have long thought), but from Mark's use of the phrase 'after three days' in the Western text of 13:2.

[51] Mark 14:58; 15:29, 38 are the only references to ναός in Mark.

Jesus nor the Son of Man.[52] It is the kingdom that John and Jesus had preached from the beginning of the Gospel of Mark. The Western text of Mark 13:2 is paraphrasing *neither* Mark 14:58 about a temple replacement *nor* John 2:19–22 about Jesus' resurrection as Mill, Schulz, Tregelles, Tischendorf, and Westcott and Hort had assumed. The Western text of Mark 13:2 is paraphrasing Daniel 2 to predict the impending kingdom of God.

(4) **καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν/in triduo/post triduum ('and in/after three days')**. Continuing to work backwards through the Western reading of Mark 13:2, next comes the tricky time reference to 'three days'. Naturally, such an expression in Mark conjures up immediate thoughts about the Passion predictions in Mark which state that the Son of Man would be raised (ἀναστῆναι/ἀναστήσεται/ἀναστήσεται) after three days (μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας in Mark 8:31, 9:31 and 10:34). But if half of the words in this longer Western reading are heavily based on Daniel, then the meaning of 'in three days' might also be found in the book of Daniel.

There are, however, no words in Daniel similar to 'in three days'—unless one remembers the seventy weeks in Daniel 9. Daniel had stated that 'seventy weeks were decreed for your people and your holy city [Jerusalem]' (9:24). After sixty-nine weeks, 'an anointed one' would be cut off and an evil prince would bring war, desolation and destruction to Jerusalem and the Temple (9:25–26). And then, during half of the seventieth and final week, Jewish offerings and sacrifices would cease and in their place would be an 'abomination of desolation', and then and only then would the end of the ages come (9:27). The last half of that seventieth and final week in Daniel 9:24–27 ushers in the abomination of desolation and the end of all things. And what is half a week? Technically, three and a half days, or more simply 'in/after three days.' If the rest of the longer Western reading of Mark 13:2 is heavily dependent on Daniel, then it stands to reason that 'in/after three days' (διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, *in triduo/post triduum*) could be another allusion to Daniel, this time to chapter 9. The Western reading 'in three days' seems to be an allusion to *neither* the Passion Predictions in Mark 8, 9, or 10 *nor* the empty tomb in Mark 16, but to the final half of Daniel's

[52] That neither Jesus nor the Son of Man is intended in the Western text of Mark 13:2 must be clarified because ante-Nicene fathers often interpreted the stone cut without hands in Daniel 2:34–35, 44–45 as a reference to Christ: see Justin *Dialogue with Trypho* 76.1; Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* 3.21.7; 4.20.1; 5.26.1–2; Hippolytus *Refutation of All Heresies* 5.2; Cyprian *Ad Quirinum* (*Testimoniorum libri III*) 1.15.

seventieth week in Daniel 9:24–27. The Western text of Mark 13:2 predicts the unstoppable and impending kingdom of God that would soon conquer all worldly empires.

Therefore, the entirety of the longer Western reading of Mark 13:2 is not a sketchy harmonisation to either Mark 14:58 or John 2:19 as many textual critics had thought. It is a subtle paraphrase of Daniel 2 and 9 and a startling prediction that God's conquering kingdom was about to arrive. And this is the kind of apocalyptic thought and language we should expect from *the author* of the Gospel according to Mark, so heavily dependent on the book of Daniel, not some later editor who introduced a poor harmonisation to Mark 14:58 or John 2:19. It seems highly unlikely that a copyist could construct such an interpolation to fit so precisely into the Olivet Discourse and the Danielic background to the Gospel of Mark.

INTERNAL ISSUES WITH THE WESTERN TEXT OF MARK 13:2

If the earliest text behind the manuscript tradition of the Gospel according to Mark was the Western reading of 13:2, then several issues regarding internal evidence must be addressed. The Western reading of Mark 13:2 stands conspicuously as the longer reading: typically in textual criticism longer readings are not preferred. Wettstein and Griesbach emphasised this preference for the *lectio brevior* in the eighteenth century, and it has become a significant principle ever since. What often goes overlooked, however, is that Griesbach extensively qualified this preference with numerous situations in which longer readings should be favoured. More recently, James Royse in his massive study of the Beatty and Bodmer papyri further established the importance of longer readings, especially those that originated accidentally, but also some that had reason to be shortened.[53] If καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλος ἀναστήσεται ἄνευ χειρῶν initially stood in the earliest text of Mark, then an unintentional omission due to *homoeoarcton* could have occurred, a jump from the καί beginning the Western reading in 13:2 to the καί following it as the next word starting the subsequent verse (13:3). More likely, however, the difference in readings is due to an intentional change.

[53] James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 705–736; also pp. 6–9.

If the Western reading was the initial text of Mark 13:2 and the priority of Mark among the Synoptics is presumed, then the longer text of Mark 13:2 would have already been shortened in the production of Matthew and Luke since neither of those parallels (Matthew 24:2; Luke 21:6) have any hint of the longer reading in their manuscript tradition. It should not be surprising that the longer reading might be excised since it is a very difficult reading for many reasons. It could easily be understood as a failed prophecy. No temple was soon rebuilt in Jerusalem after 70 CE. Neither did anyone recognise the kingdom of God suddenly appearing. And Mark (unlike John 2:19) makes no hint that the statement could allude to Jesus' resurrection. The apparent failure of such a prediction is heightened by its strict time constraints ('in three days'), not to mention that it originates from the very lips of Jesus, unlike the claims in 14:58 or 15:29. Furthermore, the Western reading could also be seen as a contradiction to the statement later in the Olivet Discourse that no one knows the day or the hour of the end, not even the Son (Mark 13:32). That statement appears so difficult that significant variants exist in the parallel text in Matthew (24:36) and Luke has no parallel at all.

The longer reading of Mark 13:2 is certainly also the less harmonised reading.[54] No trace of it can be found in the manuscript tradition in the

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[54] An interesting example of harmonisation of this verse in Mark to that in Matthew is a curious variant in Codex Bezae and a handful of other manuscripts:

> Βλεπετε ταυτας τας μεγαλας οικοδομας Αμην λεγω υμειν οτι ου μη αφεθη ωδε λιθος επι λιθον ου μη καταλυθη και δια τριων ημερων αλλος αναστησεται ανευ χειρων.

This extra phrase (with minor variations) introducing the prediction is found in D, G, Θ, Σ, f^{1}, f^{13}, 28, 61, 90, 91, 543, 565, 700, it^{i}, it^{c}, it^{ff2}, it^{a}, it^{q}, Arm. It is noteworthy because it is also present in the parallel in Matthew 24:2 (but not Luke 21:6). This, unlike the longer Western reading at the end of the verse, seems to be a case of sporadic harmonisation of Mark to Matthew by various later copyists. This is the only place in the Greek text of Bezae that the expression αμην λεγω υμειν [*sic*] occurs where it is not also found in the NA28 text. In other words, Bezae does not seem to add this phrase elsewhere. This occasion is probably one of the rare places in the text of Mark where an absolute statement beginning with οὐ μη is not preceded by the introductory formula ἀμὴν λέγω σοι/ὑμῖν (cf. Mark 9:1, 41; 10:15; 13:30; 14:25, 31; the only true exception being Mark 13:19). The sporadic inclusion of ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν/σοι into 13:2 serves as an important contrast to the consisten-

parallels to the Olivet Discourse in Matthew or Luke.[55] And as demonstrated above, the wording of the Western reading is a harmonisation to neither Mark 14:58 nor John 2:19. Furthermore, if a later copyist (and not the author) were responsible for adding into a statement of Jesus eight words deriving from Mark 14:58, it would have been more appropriate to put them in the context of Jesus' public protest in the Temple (Mark 11:15–18; cf. John 2:19), not a private conversation with one of his disciples (13:1–2)—otherwise how would false witnesses (14:58) and bystanders (15:29) know of this claim later in Mark's narrative? But as the initial text, the Western reading makes sense because it was another private prediction that the kingdom of God was imminent.

CLAIMS OF TEMPLE DESTRUCTION AND TEMPLE REPLACEMENT

It is important to situate the difficult Western text of Mark 13:2 into the longer, broader Jesus traditions regarding the Temple scattered sporadically throughout early Christian writings. The sheer difficulty of the statement can be illustrated when observing how Gospel writers progressively struggled to record claims allegedly made by Jesus predicting the destruction and replacement of the Temple. Mark, the earliest Gospel, records two such claims, but only from the mouths of false witnesses and passers-by:

> Some stood up and giving false testimony against him, saying, **'We heard him say, "I will destroy (καταλύσω) this temple (τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον) made with hands (χειροποίητον), and in three days (διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν) I will build (οἰκοδομήσω) another (ἄλλον), not**

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cy and uniformity of the Western witnesses and their wording for the longer ending of the verse.

[55] That the Western text of Mark 13:2 is not harmonised to its parallels in Matthew and Luke is especially significant regarding Codex Bezae. Parker carefully noted that the Greek column of the manuscript was more textually influenced by Gospel parallels than by the Latin column opposite. And yet in this codex at Mark 13:2, the Greek column is similar to the Latin column and dissimilar to the parallels in Matthew 24:2 and Luke 21:6. See Parker, *Codex Bezae*, p. 192. Technically, if the text of Bezae at Mark 13:2 was the *Ausgangstext*, then the parallels in Matthew 24:2 and Luke 21:6 would be another example of the so-called 'minor agreements' in a world without Q.

> **made with hands (ἀχειροποίητον).'"** But not even on this did their testimony agree. (Mark 14:57–59)

> And those who passed by reviled him, shaking their heads and saying, **'Ha! The one who destroys (ὁ καταλύων) the temple (τὸν ναόν) and builds (οἰκοδομῶν) it in three days (ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις), save yourself, and come down from the cross!'** (Mark 15:29–30)

Matthew follows Mark closely but noticeably downplays such words from the false witnesses by stating that Jesus claimed mere *ability* to do such a thing (Matthew 26:61), not so much a promise to actually do so (cf. Mark 14:58):

> Now the chief priests and the whole Sanhedrin were seeking false testimony against Jesus so that they might put him to death, but they found none, even though many false witnesses came forward. At last, two came forward and said, 'This man said, **"I am able (δύναμαι) to destroy (καταλῦσαι) the temple of God (τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ) and in three days (διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν) [I am able] to build it (οἰκοδομῆσαι)."** And the high priest stood up and said to him, 'You have nothing to answer what these are testifying against you?' And Jesus was silent. … (Matthew 26:59–63a)

> Now those who passed by reviled him, shaking their heads and saying, **'The one who destroys (ὁ καταλύων) the temple (τὸν ναόν) and in three days (ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις) builds (οἰκοδομῶν) it**, save yourself! If you are the Son of God, come down from the cross!' (Matthew 27:39–40)

Luke avoids the difficulty of Mark's two claims by omitting them both in his account of the Passion Narrative. Later in Acts, however, we find a more innocuous claim about the Temple, a rather vague statement that does not clearly indicate if the buildings are threatened or just the religious enterprises therein. The claim in Acts also lacks any concluding statement about Temple replacement. Nonetheless, a claim that threatens the viability of the Temple establishment is still found in Luke-Acts:

> And they set up false witnesses saying, 'This man [Stephen] does not stop speaking words against [this] holy place (τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἁγίου [τούτου]) and the law; for we have heard him say that **this Jesus the Nazarene will destroy (καταλύσει) this place (τὸν τόπον τοῦτον)** and will change the customs that Moses handed down to us.' (Acts 6:13–14)

Unlike the Synoptics, the Fourth Gospel includes a claim of Temple destruction and rebuilding from the very mouth of Jesus (John 2:19). The statement is found in Jesus' protest early in the Gospel, not in the Passion Narratives as in the Synoptics. Here, however, the statement is clearly worded to refer to Jesus' death and resurrection (2:20–22), not as a threat towards the Temple buildings, even though Jewish leaders misunderstood it this way:

> Jesus answered and said to them, **'Destroy (λύσατε) this temple (τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον), and in three days (ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις) I will raise it (ἐγερῶ αὐτόν).'** The Judaeans then said, 'For forty-six years, this temple has been being built, and you in three days will raise it?' But he was speaking about the temple (τοῦ ναοῦ) of his body. Therefore when he had been raised (ἠγέρθη) from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this and they believed the scripture and the word that Jesus had said. (John 2:19–22)

Finally, the Coptic Gospel of Thomas from Nag Hammadi, Egypt also includes a statement echoing claims of Temple destruction. Like the Fourth Gospel, the statement comes from the mouth of Jesus, but unlike the canonical Gospels, no claim for Temple replacement or rebuilding is made:

> Jesus said, 'I will destroy [this] house, and no one will be able to build it [...].' (Gospel of Thomas 71)

These passages represent a long and sustained tradition that must be taken seriously. The writers appear to be struggling progressively to record echoes of claims that could easily be seen as problematic. They appear to be distancing and downplaying any apparent threat Jesus might have made against the Temple proper or any claim that he would rebuild or replace it. It is possible that this long and sustained tradition could trace itself back to the claim found in the Western text of the earliest Gospel, a claim so difficult that later scribes would feel the need to alter it by removing the ending: 'See these great buildings? Not a stone upon a stone will be left here, which will not be thrown down, and in three days another [stone/kingdom] will be raised without hands.' The shorter version of Mark 13:2 as found in Alexandrian and Vulgate manuscripts, without the longer Western reading, would then match the later and less problematic statement found in Matthew 24:2.

If this is the case, then the longer, Western text of Mark 13:2 would represent the reading which best explains the origins of the others—a criterion not insignificant in establishing the earliest text. Is it more probable

that the shorter Alexandrian text represents the initial text of Mark 13:2 and that one or more later scribes botched a harmonisation to Mark 14:58 in Western tradition and made the verse problematic with an apparent failed prophecy from the very mouth of Jesus? Or is it more probable that the Western text with its allusions to Daniel and imminence of the impending kingdom lies behind the manuscript tradition and that the difficulty of such a claim was later downplayed by shortening the statement to match the ending known in Matthew 24:2? That is the question.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE LONGER READING OF MARK 13:2

If the longer, Western reading is an allusion to Daniel's unstoppable stone representing the impending kingdom of God, then the statement would also fit the consistent emphasis across Mark's narrative for apocalyptic immediacy:

> The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent and believe in the good news. (Mark 1:15)
>
> Truly, I say to you, there are some standing here who will not taste death until they see the kingdom of God has come in power. (Mark 9:1)
>
> Truly, I say to you, this generation will not pass away until all these things have taken place. (Mark 13:30)
>
> I am; and you will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of power and coming with the clouds of heaven. (Mark 14:62)

Significantly, all of these statements—not unlike the longer text of Mark 13:2—come from the mouth of Jesus in the Gospel of Mark.

If the Western reading is authentic to the text, then the entire verse also fits the heavy and sustained critique against the Temple establishment in the Jerusalem section of Mark (11:1–16:8):

- Jesus stages a violent protest against both vendors and worshippers in the Temple (11:11, 15–19) that results in a power struggle over authority with the Temple leaders (11:27–33).
- Jesus curses a fig tree (11:12–14, 20–25). The intercalation of this event with the Temple protest implies that it was intended as a dramatic act depicting divine judgment on the Temple establishment.
- In the Parable of the Wicked Tenants (12:1–12), Jesus uses a detailed allegory to accuse power-brokers in the Temple of mismanagement, killing the 'beloved son' and incurring the eventual destruction of the Temple upon themselves (12:9).

- In a dialogue with a scribe regarding the great commandments, Jesus affirms the scribe for recognising that love for God and neighbour is greater than all the sacrifices in the Temple (12:33–34).
- Jesus shocks his disciples who are enamoured with the grandeur of the Jerusalem Temple by predicting that the entire complex would be destroyed (13:1–2), and the Western text goes on to predict based on Daniel that the kingdom of God was about to be established in its place.
- In the longest speech in Mark, Jesus predicts a desolating sacrilege that pollutes the Temple (13:14), horrific threats against all life in Jerusalem (13:15–20) and the return of the Son of Man at the final judgment (13:24–27).
- At the last supper (14:22–25), Jesus steps away from the Mosaic Covenant and reinterprets the Passover Seder as a new commemorative meal in the light of his impending death.
- Accusations are hurled that Jesus would destroy the Temple and rebuild a new one (14:58; 15:29). In the Western text of Mark, these accusations may have been intended to show how Jesus' claim earlier in 13:2 was subsequently misunderstood by various opponents as an attempt to build a new building quickly, when his claim was actually intended to predict the kingdom of God as the conquering stone from Daniel chapter 2.
- Finally and most decisively, as Jesus dies, the Temple veil is torn from top to bottom (15:38) as a divine and intrusive act of condemnation of the Temple establishment forty years prior to its destruction at the hands of the Romans.

These sustained and repeated themes in the Jerusalem section of Mark (11:1–16:8) shift the focus of Jesus' followers and Mark's readers away from the old covenant and the Temple establishment to the impending kingdom of God. Not one stone would be left on another in the Temple; instead, the kingdom of God would soon be raised.

Predictions such as these are a major theme in the Gospel of Mark and the author carefully shows Jesus to be an accurate predictor of things to come. Three times Jesus predicts he would be rejected, killed and raised (8:31; 9:31; 10:33–34) and these things then happen in the narrative (14:43–16:8). As Jesus enters Jerusalem for Passover, he accurately predicts where to get a colt (11:2–3) and whom to ask for an upper room (14:13–15). At the Last Supper, Jesus precisely predicts that this would be his last meal (14:25), one of them would betray him (14:18), Peter would deny him

(14:30) and all of them would desert him (14:27). The combined effect of all these fulfilled predictions is that readers are then encouraged to expect similar outcomes for predictions left unfulfilled in the narrative, such as the destruction of Jerusalem, the coming of the Son of Man and establishment of God's kingdom. The longer Western text of Mark 13:2 would be a further example of such expectations.

CONCLUSION

In Mark 13:2, thirteen significant witnesses to a Western text include words from Jesus that predict, based on Daniel, that God's kingdom would soon be established in place of the Jerusalem Temple. Since this reading was often considered to be a harmonisation to Mark 14:58 or John 2:19, scholars have not given it much consideration. Upon closer examination, the reading has been shown to be a carefully-nuanced statement based on Daniel 2 and 9 expecting the kingdom of God soon to demolish all other worldly kingdoms—a nuance which should be expected from the author of the Gospel according to Mark, not a later scribe. The reading is certainly the non-harmonised reading and the *lectio difficilior*. As the longer reading, there are good and certain reasons to think later editors would feel the need to shorten the text as a harmonisation to Matthew 24:2. If the Western text of Mark 13:2 is the initial text behind the manuscript tradition, then the verse has important implications *inter alia* regarding apocalyptic imminency, the rejection of the Temple and the establishment of the kingdom of God. The longer, Western reading represents a vital part of the living text in the first five centuries that goes back to the earliest text of Mark. 'Not a stone upon a stone will be left here which will not be thrown down, and in three days another stone/kingdom will be raised without hands.'

3. One or Two Cups? The Text of Luke 22:17–20 Again.

Thomas O'Loughlin

Anyone who addresses this question, yet again, should heed the warnings that are clearly displayed on much of the scholarly packaging! In 1993, Bart Ehrman wrote:

> … since the publication of Westcott and Hort's New Testament in the Original Greek, no textual problem or Luke's entire two-volume work has generated more critical debate—or, one might add, occasioned more scholarly confusion.[1]

Not only is there a vast array of solutions as to which is the 'original' text but, despite well over a century of ingenious proposals, no solution has ever been able to claim dominance. This failure to find a compelling solution prompted Henry Chadwick in 1957 to warn:

> The Lucan account [of the Last Supper] with its notorious difficulties of text and interpretation, the one being inextricably bound up with the other, has been the Waterloo of many investigators.[2]

When we then consider that there are no fewer than six variant forms of these verses, surely prudence dictates that we give this problem a wide berth and thus avoid adding to the confusion or meeting our own Waterloo![3]

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[1] Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (Oxford: OUP, 1993), p. 197.

[2] Henry Chadwick, 'The Shorter Text of Luke XXII. 15–20', *HTR* 50 (1957) 249–258, at p. 249.

[3] The variant forms are conveniently laid out as parallel columns in Greek in

Nevertheless, while such a policy might seem prudent, we do have a set of facts (namely the various readings that have come to use within the tradition) whose existence—as manifestations of the thoughts of past readers and users of our text—merits our attention. Moreover, we are marking the twentieth anniversary of the *The Living Text of the Gospels* in which David Parker himself discussed the problem of this passage that illustrates some important ways in which the tradition was always in flux.[4] This therefore seems an ideal occasion to revisit it.

THE BREADTH OF SCHOLARLY INTEREST

A curious feature of this textual problem is the breadth of scholarly interest it has aroused. Whereas most discussions of variant readings are solely the concern of that subsection of the biblical guild that deals with textual criticism, with an occasional visit from other disciplines when a variant is perceived to be theologically awkward, this variant attracts attention from across the spectrum of Christian theological scholarship. We should not be surprised that the variants interest those writing commentaries on Luke, because here is a real problem regarding the relationship of Luke to his source (invariably taken as Mark) and these variants may show differences of emphasis between Luke and the other early writers who mention the Last Supper.[5]

Perhaps more surprising is that these variants play a part in quests for the historical Jesus.[6] In particular, they emerge in a subsection of that quest

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B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1975), p. 175 [and repeated verbatim in R.L. Omanson, *A Textual Guide to the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006), p. 148]; this chart of the variants is taken, 'with a few minor modifications', from F.G. Kenyon and S.C.E. Legg, 'The Biblical Basis: The Textual Data' in *Faith and Order Movement Continuation C: The Ministry and the Sacraments*, ed. R. Dunkerley (London: Macmillan, 1937), 272–286 at pp. 284 and 285.

[4] D.C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), pp. 151–157.

[5] See the bibliography on Luke 22:15–20—much of it devoted to the textual question—in F. Bovon, *Luke 3: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 19:28–24:53* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2012), pp. 148–152.

[6] For example J.D. Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), pp. 363–365, 403, and 425; or J.P. Meier, *A*

involving searchers after the historical Last Supper. Does the Longer Text contain an echo of the actual ritual of the Passover as celebrated in Palestine in the period before 70 CE?[7] If so, then it not only points to that Supper being a Passover, but is also a detail supporting a variety of historical claims for the the picture of [the historical] Jesus in the Gospel according to Luke.[8] The search for the historical Last Supper elides with another strand of scholarship—itself abutting doctrinal theology—which is concerned with the origins of a Christian institution: the Eucharist. For this latter group, these variants—usually simplified to a choice between a 'longer' and a 'shorter' text—are not simply a textual problem in a gospel but point to a variation within an 'Institution Narrative' (a notion itself laden with history): in this, the contents of these texts are not of merely historical interest but lead to a result which is somehow normative for ongoing Christian practice. As a witness to early Christian observances, the variants could be seen as either mandating or undermining a particular ritual, or perhaps offering a different image from which liturgical practice (whose integrity is guaranteed *a priori*) needs to be isolated.[9] This range of interests and perspectives should alert us that there is a correspondingly wide range of latent assumptions at work in our discussion of this textual problem.

Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1991), pp. 399 and 427.

[7] This begins with B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek* (Cambridge and London: Macmillan, 1881), Appendix, pp. 63–65, where the editors sought the evidence for the originality of the longer text in its apparent reflection of Jewish practice as observed in the Mishnah.

[8] A recent form of this debate is the question about whether or not there is evidence in the early Christian documents for there being a *Seder* in pre-70 CE Palestinian Judaism: see, for example, J. Kulp, 'The Origins of Seder and Haggadah', *Currents in Biblical Research* 4 (2005) 109–134, or J. Marcus, 'Passover and Last Supper Revisited', *NTS* 59 (2013) 303–334, which, in turn, reflect a theme in Jewish liturgical studies that sometimes invokes evidence from the Jesus movement, such as B.M. Bokser, *The Origins of the Seder: The Passover Rite and Early Rabbinic Judaism* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1984).

[9] The liturgical scholars invariably cite the textual scholars, but the New Testament scholars often find themselves relying on liturgical 'certainties', such as the position of Jeremias described in the following section.

THE QUEST FOR 'THE ORIGINAL' AND ITS PITFALLS

A point that may seem so wide-ranging as to be a truism is, nonetheless, relevant at the outset. We have a very deep sense—not only as scholars or committed users of these texts, but as human beings—that we can rely on the notion that diversity is subsequent to unity. It seems not only a historical fact but a logical necessity that if there is a disagreement on the question 'how many cups were blessed at the Last Supper', then there must be a single answer, and any variations from that answer must be later in their appearance. This assumption takes several forms. The most familiar form is the quest for the 'original text' of the Gospel—the great quest for 'the original Greek'—with its expectation that there must have been a single autograph reading which was subsequently changed in some way.[10] Many of those who are sceptical of any claim to have obtained 'the original' through a process of editing may still be firmly wedded to the notion that there once was such a reality, albeit one now irrecoverably lost. But what of the possibility that the Gospel's text was initially support for an oral performance? Or, perhaps, that there were several 'editions' that were adapted by the evangelist to different situations?

A further version of the 'original' argument is based upon the events of the life of Jesus: if there are two contradictory accounts of one occasion, one of them must be wrong. This is logically certain—it is no more than a reformulation of the Law of Contradiction—but it is historically vapid. We cannot observe once again that moment, so we are consequently thrown back on transmitted accounts and to the question of which (and whether) one of them is to be trusted as 'original'. Moreover, once we recognise that we access history through memory, we must confront the reality that the whole account of the Last Supper is a community memory which derives its

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[10] This pursuit has been examined not only by Parker in *The Living Text of the Gospels*; but also by E.J. Epp in several articles: 'The Multivalence of the Term 'Original Text' in New Testament Textual Criticism', *HTR* 92 (1999) 245–281; 'Issues in New Testament Textual Criticism moving from the Nineteenth Century to the Twenty-First Century' in *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism*, ed. D.A. Black (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 17–76 [with additional notes in: *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism. Collected Essays, 1962–2004* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 641–697]; and 'It's All about Variants: A Variant-Conscious Approach to New Testament Textual Criticism', *HTR* 100.3 (2007) 275–308.

salience from the 'now' of those who recount it, rather than some sort of primitive video-footage of the event.

Surely, however, we can proceed within memory to an original structure? If we can know what a Passover meal was like at the time and be sure that this supper was such a meal, then we would have an original format and could judge the originality of the differing accounts. This is the logic of Westcott's argument, but it fails because we cannot have this level of certainty for the period before 70 CE. Moreover, if the later Jewish structures for the Seder (now, obviously, a ritual with instructions) show accommodation to Greco-Roman meal practices, then the same level of accommodation could be true of the writer of this Gospel or a later adapter. A related argument, deriving from theories of memory, builds on the notion that, because ritual is repetitious, the structures repeated are stable and that which departs from them is the alternative to the original.

This quest for the fundamental form of the repetition has almost as long a history as the quest for the original Greek, and for generations two statements have been presented as axiomatic. The first is that the Eucharist has 'a four-fold structure' of taking/blessing/breaking/sharing: here we have a pattern that allows us to glimpse the original architecture before confusing accretions.[11] The second is that the sequence of blessings at a Eucharist (imagined with the ritual fixity of Renaissance books mandating precise details) was first the bread, then the cup: surely here is a datum against which variation could be judged.[12] But just as the notion of a pre-70 CE

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[11] This approach reached its apogee with Gregory Dix (*The Shape of the Liturgy*, London: Dacre, 1945) who expressed it thus:

> The New Testament accounts of that supper as they stand in the received text present us with a 'seven-action scheme' of the rite then inaugurated. Our Lord (1) took bread; (2) 'gave thanks' over it; (3) broke it; (4) distributed it, saying certain words. Later, He (5) took a cup; (6) 'gave thanks' over that; (7) handed it to His disciples, saying certain words (p. 48).

Given this statement, one would expect Dix to have opted for the shorter form of Luke, but this presented him with yet other problems with regard to his certainties about the structure of a *chaburah* meal at the time of Jesus, and so regarding the shorter text he wrote: 'Yet I cannot persuade myself that it represents exactly what the author originally wrote' (p. 62 note).

[12] The most explicit form of this reliance can be found in J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (London: Macmillan, 1966), but such reliance is widespread and

Seder is no longer certain, both of these 'original' liturgical forms have become suspect. The second axiom, that, in the words of Jeremias, 'a Lord's Supper in the order wine-bread (Luke 22:17–19a) … has never happened',[13] was effectively destroyed on the discovery of the Didache, even if there was a fierce rearguard action to defend 'the Eucharist' from its implications for much of the twentieth century by the device of assuming a distinction between 'a eucharist' and 'an agape'.[14] Similarly, the notion of a fundamental shape has disappeared from recent studies which have attended to the sheer variety of early Christian evidence for their behaviour at meals, especially since the now standard element of Christian experience of the Eucharist as simply a token meal (or a 'ritual meal') is itself later than the earliest evidence we can adduce for the variations in Luke.[15]

Another set of variations on this liturgical original approach is the one which sees the Eucharist as such a central element in Christian understanding that its 'institution' (a notion based on another myth of originality) would have loomed so large in the minds of those involved that muddle would be impossible until that later confusion arising from either heresy or the establishment of orthodoxy (depending on the perspective adopted). A common form of this is the notion that what we actually have in the early references to the meal (whether 1 Cor. 11:23–6 or Mark 14:22–5) is an echo of liturgy and that these words—now the language often subtly changes from 'words' to 'institution narrative' or even 'formula of consecration',

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can be seen in the frequency in which terms of sacramental theology appear in textual discussions.

[13] Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, p. 157.

[14] T. O'Loughlin, 'Reactions to the *Didache* in Early Twentieth-century Britain: A Dispute over the Relationship of History and Doctrine?', in *Religion, Identity and Conflict in Britain: From the Restoration to the Twentieth Century. Essays in Honour of Keith Robbins*, ed. S.J. Brown, F. Knight, and J. Morgan-Guy (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 177–194; A. McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists: Food and Drink in Early Christian Ritual Meals* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), pp. 21–22.

[15] See P.F. Bradshaw and M.E. Johnson, *The Eucharistic Liturgies: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 2012) for a recent statement of this approach; also D.E. Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist: The Banquet in the Early Christian World* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress 2003); C. Leonhard, 'Morning salutationes and the Decline of Sympotic Eucharists in the Third Century', *ZAC* 18 (2014) 420–442.

both terms with fixed significance in later Christian theology but with little value for the early centuries—reflect a precious tradition that maintains the tradition's links with its origin. The longer text of Luke was especially problematic for this position. On the one hand, the internal logic of the liturgical position meant that the variety in this account served as a clear indication of its unoriginality. On the other hand, its virtual ubiquity in the tradition, coupled with its inclusion of 'do this in memory of me' (not found in Codex Bezae or Vetus Latina witnesses, and otherwise not found in a gospel but only in 1 Cor. 11:24) meant that that adherents of this position wanted to take the longer form as original. That there is no basis for imagining an actual ritual text underlying Paul or the Gospels,[16] nor indeed any basis for holding that 'an institution narrative' was part of the earliest strands of Christian euchology,[17] fatally undermined this whole approach to 'the original Eucharist'.

BART EHRMAN AND THE LATER DIVERSITY

The last variation on the quest for the original is that which underlies Bart Ehrman's suggestion that the longer form is a deliberate changing of the original to counter docetic presentations of Jesus and also to assert that the inclusion of 'which is for you' points to concern over whose body and blood has brought salvation.[18] Ehrman's examination of the question is by far the most comprehensive recent treatment, and I note the words of David Parker:

> I for one have always preferred the shorter text, but more by instinct than from a thoroughly worked out argument and (because of the majority opinion) slightly shamefacedly. I am delighted that a doughty champion has now sprung to the aid of the shorter text. Its defence by

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[16] A.B. McGowan, ' "Is there a Liturgical Text in this Gospel?": The Institution Narratives and their Early Interpretative Communities', *JBL* 118 (1999) 73–87.

[17] The fundamental work is that of L. Ligier, 'The Origins of the Eucharistic Prayer', *Studia Liturgica* 9 (1973) 161–185, which sparked a revolution among liturgists in terms of their study of the *Anaphora of Addai and Mari* and, indeed, the *Didache*.

[18] Ehrman, *Orthodox Corruption*, pp. 197–209.

> Ehrman in *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture* is brilliant. Here is overwhelming evidence for the other side.[19]

At this stage I wish to be explicit that if I take issue with Bart Ehrman on these verses in Luke, I do not wish my comments to be seen as an oblique attack on his approach or the larger thesis that the orthodoxy of the patristic period was itself a construct that has left its imprints not only on the scriptural text, but across the expanse of Christian inheritance. Rather, in this case, there might be a simpler explanation of how the various practices and later attitudes to the text have left us evidence in the variants which are preserved.

DIVERSITY PRECEDES UNITY?

One of the recurrent themes in early Christian studies over recent decades has been that, far from Jesus' followers constituting a consistent and uniform movement, this was not only a fractured movement but one which (even when not split between those who might shout for Paul or Apollos, as at 1 Cor. 1:12) incorporated many strands of inheritance. We could begin by noting that Christianity was a practice, a manner of living the Law among Jewish-Christians and a way of righteousness for Gentile-Christians, long before it was a body of texts or, much less, a body of doctrine. Part of this practice was gathering for the Christian meal at which certain routines were observed, such as a blessing over a cup and loaf,[20] and certain practices were presented as an ideal to be observed, such as provision for the poor and a transcending of social hierarchy.[21] That the community meal was part of the practice is seen in the references to it in virtually every document

[19] Parker, *Living Text*, p. 155.

[20] I will use 'loaf' rather than 'bread' because the interest in the pre-scholastic period was on the object that was broken—a loaf, rather than on the stuff—bread as a *substantia* (see T. O'Loughlin, 'Translating *Panis* in a Eucharistic Context: A Problem of Language and Theology', *Worship* 78 (2004) 226–235.

[21] See R. Jewett, 'Gospel and Commensality: Social and Theological Implications of Galatians 2.14', in *Gospel in Paul: Studies on Corinthians, Galatians and Romans for Richard N. Longenecker*, ed. L.A. Jarvis & P. Richardson (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 240–252; and H.W. Hollander, 'The Idea of Fellowship in 1 Corinthians 10.14–22', *NTS* 55 (2009) 456–470.

from the late 50s (Paul) to around 150 (Justin).[22] At the same time, concerns that the practice of this meal in actual communities was not reflecting the expected values of those communities can be seen explicitly in Paul's concerns in 1 Corinthians and by implication in several other documents.[23] We also know that there was diversity in this practice. In some places the sequence of blessings was over the loaf followed by the cup, in other places the reverse.[24] Some used a cup of wine, others water.[25] In some cases it may have been a very simple meal, in others an elaborate affair; and just as the Seder used some of 'the meal grammar' of the symposium without becoming identified with it,[26] so too the Christian communities found themselves imagining and performing their practices using the meal grammar of their surroundings.[27]

At this point we need to recall two aspects of any repeated community practice, because a group's memory of shared activity differs significantly from its memory of shared ideas. Our embodied memories of practice are amongst our most important shared memories.[28] This is illustrated in many ways in the literature on collective memory. Here, one example of this persistence can stand for all, namely the celebration of Pentecost by Paul. This was a remembered shared activity, an annual event that was dear to him (1 Cor. 16:8) and a practice that continued without interruption for him and so many others when they became followers of Jesus. It then spread through shared activity to others, without the shared memory of it being part of a set of annual practices within Jewish time, until eventually it needed a new explanation and so was repurposed within this new group's historical myth,

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[22] See Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*.

[23] See P.-B. Smit, 'A Symposiastic Background to James?' *NTS* 58 (2011) 105–122.

[24] The classic contrast of the *Didache*'s order of blessings with that found in Mark is the clearest evidence: see below.

[25] McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists*, assembled virtually all the evidence.

[26] See Bokser, *The Origins of the Seder*, pp. 50–66: in arguing that the post-70 Seder was not a symposium, he shows how it adapted the then current culture of dining.

[27] See Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, pp. 279–287 who shows how the culture of the symposium became part of Christian discourse about their meals.

[28] The work of P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989), which emphasises embodied memories, underpins the whole of my argument.

as we see in the writings of Luke. Explanations changed but, year in and year out, they 'did Pentecost' without interruption as a group. Practice endures even when its origins and original purposes are long forgotten.

The second aspect of practices and memory relates to explanation: explanation follows from practice rather than practical empirical events—a meal, a pilgrimage, a bodily stance while praying—being manifestations of doctrines. Our own theological training and the legacy of church disputes here occlude the evidence for us. Our training, if not our instincts, leads us to think of theological questions as belonging to the world of ideas, components within the edifice of Christian faith which then can become manifest in some practical expression. It is because of a certain belief, X, that we have this sensory expression, Y. But the historical evidence points in the opposite direction: people were committed (because that was their custom) to doing Y, and then asked 'why do we do this?' The reply now took the form 'because we believe X'. For the systematician, doctrine may be manifested in liturgy, but for the historian ritual happens, and is then explained/justified/'made sense of' with story or doctrine. This stability of practice—amid a variety of explanations—can be used to compare the variety of 'theologies' that we find over the range of early documents. Indeed, when we have a range or succession of conflicting theologies, the common link is often not some fundamental premise/doctrinal position but a shared, settled practice.[29] David Parker has stated on several occasions that 'scripture is tradition'[30] and one dimension of this is that 'tradition is doing'. Repeated practices generate doctrine such that teaching, *doctrina*, is a function of community ritual.[31]

How does this perspective affect our reading of the variants of Luke regarding the Christian supper? If we think of the stories of the Last Supper as neither a direct echo of liturgy, nor as a detail about the final hours of Jesus but as part of a myth explaining the churches' practice of eating to-

[29] This methodology was explored by É. Nodet and J. Taylor, *The Origins of Christianity: An Exploration* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998).

[30] Most notably in D.C. Parker, 'Scripture is Tradition', *Theology* 94 (1991) 11–17.

[31] It is instructive to note how this sequence of practice and theology is at variance with our predilection for a model of 'practical theology' as an expression of credal positions.

gether,[32] then just as we have a variety of practice, we should expect that that variety to be echoed in the stories.

LIVING COMMUNITIES, SHARED CUSTOMS, LIVING TEXTS

Bart Ehrman began his analysis of the evidence thus:

> The New Testament manuscripts present Luke 22:19–21 in six different forms of text, four of which can be readily dismissed as altogether lacking adequate documentary support and internal claims to authenticity. Of the two remaining forms, one is conveniently labelled the 'shorter text' because it lacks verses 19b–20.[33]

But while this reduction of the evidence to two forms (that is the columns headed 'Majority Text' and 'Bezae et al'. in the chart below) makes good sense if we think about this as a matter of texts bearing theological significance, it hardly does justice to the fact that each reading was once used by an actual community and was transmitted as the memory of that community. If this were not the case, we would not have the manuscript witnesses today.

THE VARIANTS

The translation in the table on pages 64–65 below is that of the NRSV, so as to preserve the chart's consistency.[34] The annotations are as follows:

- [ ]: omitted in some witnesses.
- **bold** – Metzger holds that this is an enlargement 'with the wording of 1 Cor. 11:24 added to ver. 19a' (*A Textual Commentary*, 174).

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[32] That the stories of the Last Supper (both in Paul and the Synoptics) are explanations of practice rather than echoes of liturgy has been examined by McGowan, 'Is there a Liturgical Text in this Gospel?'; that the Last Supper formed an important interpretative myth for the churches (which Paul delivered, cf. 1 Corinthians 11:23) has been explored by numerous scholars, for example, H. Koester, *From Jesus to the Gospels: Interpreting the New Testament in its Context* (Minneapolis, MN: Liturgical Press 2007), pp. 122–133, 211–224, and 285–291.

[33] *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, p. 198.

[34] This chart is based on that given by Kenyon and Legg (1937), and further adapted from the tabulated form found in Metzger (1975).

- The latter part of 22:20 has been rearranged from the manner it is presented in the NRSV which reads: 'This cup that is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood'.
- Underlined: Metzger presents this as 22:20b but it also corresponds to 1 Cor. 11:25 (recall that the Greek text of Kenyon and Legg is a reconstruction).
- Homoeoteleuton: Metzger explains the absence of verses 17 and 18 here as 'perhaps due to homoeoteleuton' (174) which is clearer in the NRSV ('and he took … and he took') than in Greek (καὶ δεξάμενος... καὶ λαβών).

If we begin by looking at the Vetus Latina and Syriac evidence, we should concentrate on the actions rather than on the words: there is a loaf followed by a cup. This sequence, rather than being 'normative' (in the theologians' sense of a *norma normans*), was probably the most widespread sequence across the early communities. The variants' evidence alone reaches from west to east, and it lines up with the sequence we find in 1 Cor. 11:23–6, Mark 14:22–5 and Matthew 26:26–9. If we wanted to argue that this was a case of Luke's more difficult reading being harmonised to other New Testament accounts we should point out (as has so often been done) that some of these variants also have 'which is for you', 'which is given for you', and 'do this in remembrance of me'.

But what if we were to think of Luke's gospel being used, perhaps we should say performed, in a church where this sequence was the normal practice at their Christian meal? Now it would not be a case of the text being harmonised to another text but of the text being conformed to group experience. The sequence in the text dovetails with their practice in the same way that any other performance of that community's memory (namely hearing the myth of their supper from Matthew, Mark, or 1 Corinthians) would have cohered with their experienced routine. It is the embodied practice that is normative for them: the story explains this, and surviving textual evidence is our witness to it. We might note at this point that the Syriac evidence is replete with the incipient orthodoxy that Bart Ehrman claims for the Majority Text, and that if one were to look to a conscious theological input it would be at this point and context, in contrast to the Vetus Latina evidence, that one should seek it.[35] However, it might be simpler just to

[35] That Vetus Latina evidence might then be construed as coming from church-

assume that as the sequence was being harmonised, through practice, to the familiar, so too it picked up a phrase already familiar from 1 Cor. 11:24.

Because the sequence loaf-cup became at some later point normative, in the strong sense, and then universal, we are apt to see the opposite as erratic or, indeed, impossible. However, the Didache takes the sequence of cup (9:2) followed by loaf (9:4) for granted. While we can only guess the diffusion among the churches of the practice to which the Didache bears witness, we should note that Paul seems to know this sequence when he mentions 'the cup of blessing' before 'the loaf which we break' (1 Cor. 10:16) and when he places 'the cup of the Lord' or of demons before 'the table of the Lord' or of demons (10:21).[36] Paul, indeed, while using one sequence in the story explaining practice (1 Cor. 11:23–6), actually appears to be more familiar with the other practice in that it was that sequence which he twice echoed when he was referring indirectly to the practice of the churches. In any church where the routine was that the cup was blessed first, there may have been a sense of dissonance when they heard the recitation of the myth of the Lord's Supper as found in 1 Corinthians 11, Mark and Matthew, but there would have been a welcome coherence of story with experience when they heard the Lukan form as found in Codex Bezae.

For more than a century this textual conundrum has been tackled—as in the table below—through the device of parallel columns to enable the presentation of textual similarities and differences at a glance. But perhaps the key similarity of all the shorter texts is that they have only one blessing over solid food and one blessing over liquid to be consumed, while the key difference between them is that we have the two sequences of blessings. We know that both sequences were being used in the churches, and the variations of the shorter texts actually reflect those different usages.

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es with fewer doctrinal concerns.

[36] I do not want to examine how this sequence may reflect a Jewish sequence—an idea that has been part of the debate on the longer text since Westcott—nor of the links between the *Didache* and the *Birkat Ha-Mazon*. My hesitation is partly because the evidence tends to run in circles, but, more importantly, because it is not relevant unless one is seeking the 'original form': it suffices to note that there were churches that had this cup followed by loaf sequence.

	MAJORITY TEXT	**BEZAE et al.**	**VETUS LATINA** (two codices)	**SYRIAC – Curetonian**	**SYRIAC – Sinaitic**	**SYRIAC – Peshitta et al.**
17	Then he took a cup, and after giving thanks he said, 'Take this and divide it among your-selves;	Then he took *the* cup, and after giving thanks he said, 'Take this, divide it among your-selves;				<see note 'homoeoteleu-ton'>
18	for I tell you that I will not drink from now on of the fruit of the vine until the king-dom of God comes'.	for I tell you from now on I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until comes the kingdom of God'				
19	Then he took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and gave it to them, saying, 'This is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me'.	Then he took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and gave it to them, saying, 'This is my body	Then he took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and gave it to them, saying, 'This is my body	Then he took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and gave it to them, saying, 'This is my body **which is** **for you**. Do this in remembrance of me'.	Then he took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and gave it to them, saying, 'This is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me'.	Then he took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and gave it to them, and said, 'This is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me'.

20a					after supper,	
17			Then he took *the* cup, and after giving thanks he said, 'Take [this], divide it among your- selves;	Then he took *the* cup, and after giving thanks he said, 'Take [this], divide it among your- selves;	he took *the* cup, and after giving thanks he said, 'Take [this], divide it among your- selves;	
20b					'This is the new covenant in my blood.	
18			for I tell you [that] from now on I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until comes the kingdom of God'	for I tell you [that] from now on I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until comes the kingdom of God'	for I tell you [that] from now on I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until comes the kingdom of God'	
20 a b	And he did the same with the cup after supper, saying, 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood that is poured out for you.					And he did the same with the cup after supper, saying, 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood that is poured out for you.

WHAT THEN OF THE MAJORITY TEXT?

A key element in Westcott's defence of the longer text was his suspicion that it might have preserved a historical detail of the actual Last Supper because he viewed it as fitting with the several cups of wine mentioned in the Mishnah. Given our suspicion of such an approach to the historicity of the gospels as well as hesitations regarding the extent to which the Mishnah can be used as an historical guide to the period before 70 CE, few today would defend his argument in detail.[37] Even so, it represents the instincts of a great scholar. Perhaps in its curious deviation from our liturgical expectations (so well supported by 1 Cor. 11, Mark and Matthew) might the longer text preserve echoes of some real meal experience known to Luke? We do know that, until well into the second century (and in some places even into the third), the Christian Supper was a real meal and, indeed, that it shared a culture with the symposium. From here, perhaps, comes the image of a banquet with several blessing cups. As such, it could be that the Supper reflected the practice of some communities that had a blessing over a cup and loaf at the outset and then the meal which was concluded with a second blessing and shared cup. It might be objected that this is illogical: if one wanted to bless a blessing cup, then once it is done, it is done, and repetition is otiose. However, this objection will not stand: there are any number of cases in ritual practices where something is doubled up on one occasion, then it becomes the norm, and then it is justified by pointing out that the first occasion is for one purpose and the second for another. The history of human ritual is littered with duplications, all sanctified by use and justified by explanation.[38] But there are two more telling objections to the notion of an actual practice of having a blessing over a cup twice at a community meal. First, we have no other direct or indirect hint of such a practice in any church, much less that it was widespread (which would have to have been

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[37] In research for this paper I have been amazed while checking both commentaries on Luke and studies of the origins of the Eucharist the number of cases I have come across where the longer text is simply taken for granted, and then—without any reference to Westcott—the notion of several cups at a Seder, and so at the Last Supper, has been given as a raw historical fact.

[38] Historians of ritual expect such duplications/repetitions as an almost inevitable consequence of the effluxion of time. On this phenomenon, see T. O'Loughlin, 'Liturgical Evolution and the Fallacy of the Continuing Consequence', *Worship* 83 (2009) 312–323.

the case, given that it is the textual form with the widest diffusion among our manuscripts). Second, and to my mind most telling, is the objection that if there had been such a practice we should see a parallel trail of imagining the ideal Supper with two cups in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, given that the gospels cannot be parcelled out to different churches but circulated across the *oikoumene*.[39] Yet we have no such variants.

A simpler solution would run along these lines. The Gospel according to Luke was a living text with two versions of the Supper story corresponding to the two sequences used in the churches' meals which, in conjunction with the other intentions of what the author wanted to say about the communities' meal, acted as an explanation of what those churches were actually doing when they gathered for the Christian meal.[40] At a later point—probably in the later second or early third century—when there was a greater interest in consistency within Christian practice (because inconsistency in ritual was seen as a marker of heresy) and a greater interest in the evangelists' texts not merely as authoritative but as 'scripture',[41] someone concerned with ritual uniformity decided on textual uniformity and combined the form deriving from cup-loaf churches (the text in Bezae) and that deriving from loaf-cup churches (the text of the Vetus Latina and Syriac) and, using 22:19a as the lynchpin, formed the longer text. Once again, we have a link between the text and practice: the new textual uniformity (the longer text) mirroring the new ritual uniformity (where any non-standard Eucharist, such as those which used water rather than wine or which placed the cup before the loaf, were seen as heretical).

We cannot know when this took place but we do have a *terminus ante quam* in the Eusebian Apparatus which was created in the last decades of the third century and so represents a text which was common before Euse-

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[39] R. Bauckham, 'For Whom Were Gospels Written?' in *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences*, ed. R. Bauckham (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 9–48.

[40] See Smith, *From Symposium to Eucharist*, pp. 261–267.

[41] On the desire for consistency between the four texts held as authoritative at a time before those texts were viewed as 'scripture', see T. O'Loughlin, 'The *Protevangelium Iacobi* and the Status of the Canonical Gospels in the Mid-Second Century', in *Felici Curiositate: Studies in Latin Literature and Textual Criticism from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century: In Honour of Rita Beyers*, ed. G. Guldentops, C. Laes, and G. Partoens (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 3–21.

bius' time.[42] In the apparatus there are separate sections devoted to each of the Lukan cups (265 and 267) and these are presented as paralleling the single cup in Matthew and Mark.[43] It might be objected that earlier in my argument I stressed the coherence of the story with the embodied practice, and now here, with the longer text, we have a story which would not act as a commentary on practice. This objection fails to take account of the changes that were taking place in the way the churches viewed these texts: during the later first and early second centuries, these texts were specific performances of their memory of 'the gospel', but later on they became canonical texts, 'the gospels', that were used routinely as a corpus of scripture. Lastly, is this argument not equivalent to arguing that the shorter text is the original? As I see it, there was a time when there were two texts (one represented by Bezae, the other by the Vetus Latina), each of which had as much claim to priority as the other. The text had living fluidity mirroring the variations in practice found in churches: I can see no reason why Luke himself could not have used both forms, depending on the community in which he was participating. Then, gradually, some harmonisation developed across this central story of those communities, which was itself larger than the gospel texts: this process would account for the Syriac witnesses. Later still, these traditions came to be combined in the spirit of losing nothing of

[42] We cannot do better than T.D. Barnes' statement that it 'cannot be dated with any confidence. But it may belong to Eusebius' youth' (*Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1981, p. 122); so, if Eusebius was born c. 260, then the apparatus would date from roughly 280–290; see T. O'Loughlin, 'Harmonizing the Truth: Eusebius and the Problem of the Four Gospels', *Traditio* 65 (2010) 1–29.

[43] The evidence of the Eusebian Apparatus can be set out thus:

Luke	Matthew	Mark	John
22:16–8	26:27–9	14:23–5	
(= section 265)	(= section 285)	(= section 166)	
22:19	26:26	14:22	6:35, 48, 51, 55
(= section 266)	(= section 284)	(= section 165)	(= sections 55, 63, 65, 67)
22:20	26:27–9	14:23–5	
(= section 267)	(= section 285)	(= section 166)	

that which is held to be ancient and precious—leading to an agglutination of two distinct strands of traditions.

The result of this process—the Majority Text—was a muddled text that owed more to ritual harmonisation and a suspicion of those who act differently 'from us' than fears over theological proprieties: as such my solution relies more on the 'cock-up' model of church evolution than that of deliberate theological conspiracy. This combined text now reflected no one's practice, but since practice carried on and was evolving in new ways irrelevant to what was supposed in the early texts anyway,[44] and nothing had been lost, the muddle became just one more problem to be explained (or perhaps more accurately, to be explained away) through formal exegesis. Indeed, the actual treatment of the two cups in Luke being harmonised to the one cup in the other gospels in Eusebius' apparatus constitutes the very first study of the problem of the 'longer text of Luke' that has come down to us. As such, the longer text is also a witness to a new attitude to these texts. By the time the various short versions were glued together the gospels were held as sacred objects for explanation, rather than being themselves explanations of what Christians were doing.

[44] See Leonhard, 'Morning salutationes'.

4. The Lukan Genealogy (Luke 3:23–38) as a Living Text: The Genealogy of Jesus in the Traditions of Codex Bezae and Aphrahat.

Peter E. Lorenz

At eighty words—roughly half the size of the *Pericope Adulterae*—Codex Bezae's variant text of the genealogy of Jesus presents one of the longest variations in the gospels, essentially replacing Luke's names from Joseph to David with Matthew's names from David to Joseph. The effect is to make the Lukan genealogy consistent with Matthew. Yet the resulting genealogy is no mere assimilation to Matthew, as it includes Old Testament kings lacking in Matthew's list, adapts Matthew's list to Luke's phraseology and rearranges the names to follow Luke's Christ-to-Adam sequence. The end result is a text that betrays less interest in reproducing Luke's 'original' than in preserving the concerns of the communities in which it developed. While Bezae's variant genealogy is 'singular' in the continuous manuscript tradition, the list of names we find in Bezae is, with a single exception, identical to a sequence given by Aphrahat in his *Demonstration* 23 written around the year 345 CE.[1]

[1] T. Baarda, *The Gospel Quotations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage* (2 vols, Amsterdam: Meppel, 1975), p. 283. I discuss Bezae's Lukan genealogy in several blog posts: 'When was Bezae's Lukan genealogy harmonized?', *Peter Lorenz's Blog*, 13 September 2016, https://peterlorenz.me/2016/09/13/is-bezaes-harmonized-lukan-genealogy-from-the-second-century/; 'Is Bezae's Lukan genealogy the work of an editor?', *Peter Lorenz's Blog*, 24 September 2016, https://peterlorenz.me/2016/09/24/bezaes-lukan-genealogy/; 'Aphraates, Bezae, and the 63 generations from Adam to

In this essay, I will follow the method presented by D.C. Parker in *The Living Text of the Gospels*, beginning with the rudimentary tasks of collecting and describing evidence and proceeding to reconstruct a transmission history with the aim of contextualising the evidence in the early Christian communities who interacted with the text.[2] The two texts I examine—those of Bezae and Aphrahat—have much to say about the contexts in which they developed that illuminates early Christian attitudes towards Jesus' genealogy and contributes to our understanding of the history of the text. The results appear to challenge one common view of textual history, namely that Bezae's Greek text form represents the ancient source behind divergent traditions that attest similar readings.

COLLECTING EVIDENCE

In collecting the evidence, we focus on Bezae's genealogy and the parallel list of names found in Aphrahat's *Demonstration* 23.21.[3]

Bezae's Lukan Genealogy

We can summarise the variation in Codex Bezae by dividing the genealogy into three sections: Joseph to David, David to Abraham, and Abraham to Adam. In the first section, we find that forty names depicting Jesus' descent from Nathan are replaced in Bezae with twenty-five names drawn from Matthew and five from the LXX, for a total of thirty names, shown in Table 1:

Luke 3:23 (D)	Matt 1:6–15 (B)	Aphrahat, *Dem*. 23		LXX Reference
ιακωβ (2)	Ιακωβ (39)	ܝܥܩܘܒ	yaʿqúb (62)	
μαθθαν (3)	Μαθθαν (38)	ܡܬܢ	mattan (61)	
ελεαζαρ (4)	Ελεαζαρ (37)	ܐܠܝܥܙܪ	ʾelíʿāzar (60)	
ελιουδ (5)	Ελιουδ (36)	ܐܠܝܗܘܕ	ʾelíúd (59)	
ιαχειν (6)	Αχειμ (35)	ܐܟܝܢ	ʾakín (58)	
σαδωκ (7)	Σαδωκ (34)	ܙܕܘܩ	zādúq (57)	

Christ', *Peter Lorenz's Blog*, 7 October 2016, https://peterlorenz.me/2016/10/07/aphraates-bezae-and-63-generations/; 'Did a Manichaean tract inspire Bezae's Lukan genealogy?', *Peter Lorenz's Blog*, 12 October 2016, https://peterlorenz.me/2016/10/12/faustus-and-bezae/.

[2] D.C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels*. Cambridge: CUP, 1997.

[3] Aphrahat, *Demonstration* 23, *De acino*, ed. A.R. Graffin (PS 1/2), col. 2–150.

Luke 3:23 (D)	**Matt 1:6–15 (B)**	**Aphrahat, *Dem*. 23**		**LXX Reference**
αζωρ (8)	Αζωρ (33)	ܥܙܘܪ	ʿāzúr (56)	
ελιακειμ (9)	Ελιακειμ (32)	ܐܠܝܩܝܡ	ʾelíqím (55)	
αβιουδ (10)	Αβιουδ (31)	ܐܒܝܘܕ	ʾabíúd (54)	
ζοροβαβελ (11)	Ζοροβαβελ (30)	ܙܘܪܒܒܠ	zúrbābel (53)	Ζοροβαβελ (1 Chr. 3:19)
σαλαθιηλ (12)	Σελαθιηλ (29)	ܫܠܬܐܝܠ	šelatiʾél (52)	σαλαθιηλ (1 Chr. 3:17)
ιεχονιου (13)	Ιεχονιαν (28)	ܝܘܝܟܝܢ	yúyākín (51)	ιωακιμ (4 Kgs 24:8)
ιωακειμ (14)		ܝܘܝܩܝܡ	yúyāqím (50)	ιωακιμ (4 Kgs 23:36)
ελιακειμ (15)				ελιακιμ (4 Kgs 23:34)
ιωσεια (16)	Ιωσειαν (27)	ܝܘܫܝܐ	yúšiyā (49)	ιωσιας (4 Kgs 22:1)
αμως (17)	Αμως (26)	ܐܡܘܢ	āmún (48)	αμων (4 Kgs 21:19)
μανασση (18)	Μανασση (25)	ܡܢܫܐ	mnaše (47)	μανασσης (4 Kgs 21:1)
εζεκεια (19)	Εζεκιαν (24)	ܚܙܩܝܐ	ḥezaqyā (46)	εζεκιας (4 Kgs 18:1)
αχας (20)	Αχαζ (23)	ܐܚܙ	āḥāz (45)	αχαζ (4 Kgs 16:1)
ιωαθαν (21)	Ιωαθαμ (22)	ܝܘܬܡ	yútām (44)	ιωαθαμ (4 Kgs 15:5)
οζεια (22)	Οζειαν (21)	ܥܘܙܝܐ	ʿúziyā (43)	αζαριας (4 Kgs 15:1)
αμασιου (23)		ܐܡܘܨܝܐ	ʾamúṣiyā (42)	αμεσσιου (4 Kgs 15:1)
ιωας (24)		ܝܗܘܐܫ	yāhúʾāsh (41)	ιωας (4 Kgs 12:2)
οχοζιου (25)		ܐܚܙܝܐ	ʾeḥazyā (40)	οχοζιας (4 Kgs 8:25)
ιωραμ (26)	Ιωραμ (20)	ܝܗܘܪܡ	yāhúrām (39)	ιωραμ (3 Kgs 16:22)
ιωσαφαδ (27)	Ιωσαφατ (19)	ܝܘܫܦܛ	yúšāpāṭ (38)	ιωσαφατ (3 Kgs 15:24)
ασαφ (28)	Ασαφ (18)	ܐܣܐ	ʾāsā (37)	ασα (3 Kgs 15:9)
αβιουδ (29)	Αβια (17)	ܐܒܝܐ	ʾabiyā (36)	αβια (2 Kgs 14:27; 3 Kgs 12:24)
ροβοαμ (30)	Ροβοαμ (16)	ܪܚܒܥܡ	rḥabʿam (35)	ροβοαμ (2 Kgs 8:7)
σολομων (31)	Σολομωνα (15)	ܫܠܡܘܢ	šlémún (34)	σαλωμων (2 Kgs 5:14)

Table 1. Section 1 of 3: From Joseph to David (Luke 3:23 and Matthew 1:6–15)

Table 1 lists three forms of Jesus' genealogy. In the first column are the thirty names following Joseph according to Bezae's Lukan genealogy (Luke 3:23). In the second column are the twenty-five names preceding Joseph according to the Matthaean genealogy of Codex Vaticanus (Matthew 1:6–15). The third and fourth columns list the twenty-nine names before Joseph given by Aphrahat in *Demonstration* 23. The fifth column provides the relevant LXX reference where applicable. The numbers in parentheses give the order of each name in its respective list. Thus, at the top of the list, ιακωβ is the second name appearing in Bezae's genealogy in Luke (cited as ιακωβ (2)), the thirty-ninth name in Vaticanus' genealogy in Matthew (cited as ιακωβ (39)), and the sixty-second name in Aphrahat's list (cited as yaʿqúb (62)).

While apparently appropriating Matthew's names, Bezae attests two notable variations to Matthew's genealogy. First, the three kings αμασιου, ιωας and οχοζιου are inserted from the LXX, a variation also found in Aphrahat. Second, Bezae with Aphrahat includes the name Jehoiakim (ιωακειμ), also from the LXX. But Bezae is the only witness that counts Jehoiakim twice, once under his birth name, Eliakim (ελιακειμ), and once under his regnal name, Jehoiakim.[4] Bezae names Eliakim as the father of Jehoiakim, producing an uneven thirty-one names from Joseph to Solomon and Bezae's only divergence from Aphrahat's list.[5]

While the above thirty names from Matthew and the LXX are included in Bezae's text of Luke 3:23, the following forty names from mainstream Luke 3:24–31 are lacking: Ἡλί, Μαθθάτ, Λευί, Μελχί, Ἰανναί, Ἰωσήφ, Ματταθίου, Ἀμώς, Ναούμ, Ἑσλί, Ναγγαί, Μάαθ, Ματταθίου, Σεμεΐν, Ἰωσήχ, Ἰωδά, Ἰωανάν, Ῥησά, Ζοροβαβὲλ, Σαλαθιήλ, Νηρί, Μελχί, Ἀδδί, Κωσάμ, Ἐλμαδάμ, Ἢρ, Ἰησοῦ, Ἐλιέζερ, Ἰωρίμ, Μαθθάτ, Λευί, Συμεών, Ἰούδα, Ἰωσήφ, Ἰωνάμ, Ἐλιακίμ, Μελεά, Μεννά, Ματταθά and Ναθάμ.

In the second section of Luke's genealogy (Luke 3:31–34), where Matthew and Luke share the same fourteen names (with orthographical variations), Bezae agrees essentially with mainstream Luke, suggesting that the motive for the variation in the first section was to bring the Matthaean and Lukan genealogies into harmony.

Table 2 shows the second section:

Verse	Luke (D)	Luke (B)	Aphrahat, *Dem*. 23		LXX Reference
3:31	δαυειδ (32)	Δαυειδ (42)	ܕܘܝܕ	dawíd (33)	δαυιδ (1 Kgs 16:12)
3:32	ιεσσαι (33)	Ιεσσαι (43)	ܐܝܫܝ	ʾíshay (32)	ιεσσαι (1 Kgs 16:1)
	ωβηλ (34)	Ιωβηλ (44)	ܥܘܒܝܕ	ʿúbíd (31)	ωβηδ (Ruth 4:21)
	βοος (35)	Βοος (45)	ܒܥܙ	bāʿāz (30)	βοος (Ruth 4:21)
	σαλμων (36)	Σαλα (46)	ܫܠܐ	šelā (29)	σαλμαν (Ruth 4:20)
	ναασσων (37)	Ναασσων (47)	ܢܚܫܘܢ	neḥšún (28)	ναασσων (Ruth 4:20)
3:33	αμειναδαβ (38)	Αδμειν (48)	ܥܡܝܢܕܒ	ʿamínādāb (27)	αμιναδαβ (Ruth 4:19)
	αραμ (39)	Αρνει (49)	ܐܪܡ	ʾārām (26)	αρραν (Ruth 4:19)
	ασρωμ (40)	Εσρων (50)	ܚܨܪܘܢ	ḥeṣrún (25)	εσρων (Ruth 4:18)
	φαρες (41)	Φαρες (51)	ܦܪܨ	pareṣ (24)	φαρες (Ruth 4:18)

[4] This suggests that a marginal comment may at one point have been misjudged to be a feature of the text.

[5] According to the Hebrew Bible, Pharaoh Necho changed Eliakim's name to Jehoiakim at the time he installed him as king of Judah (2 Kings 23:34).

Verse	**Luke (D)**	**Luke (B)**	**Aphrahat, *Dem.* 23**		**LXX Reference**
	ιουδα (42)	Ιουδα (52)	ܝܗܘܕܐ	íhúdā (23)	ιουδα (Gen 29:35)
3:34	ιακωβ (43)	Ιακωβ (53)	ܝܥܩܘܒ	yaʿqúb (22)	ιακωβ (Gen 25:26)
	ισακ (44)	Ισαακ (54)	ܐܝܣܚܩ	ʾísḥāq (21)	ισαακ (Gen 17:19)
	αβρααμ (45)	Αβρααμ (55)	ܐܒܪܗܡ	ʾabrāhām (20)	αβρααμ (Gen 17:5)

Table 2. Section 2 of 3: From David to Abraham (Luke 3:31–34)

In the third section, where Luke traces the genealogy past Abraham to Adam (Luke 3:34–38), Bezae follows the mainstream tradition, except for lacking the name Καϊνάμ, a variation also found in Aphrahat (and 𝔓[75] vid.), as shown in Table 3:

Verse	Luke (D)	Luke (B)	Aphrahat, *Dem.* 23		LXX Reference
3:34	θαρα (46)	Θαρα (56)	ܬܪܚ	tārāḥ (19)	θαρα (Gen 11:24)
	ναχωρ (47)	Ναχωρ (57)	ܢܚܘܪ	nāḥúr (18)	ναχωρ (Gen 11:22)
3:35	σερουκ (48)	Σερουχ (58)	ܣܪܘܓ	srúg (17)	σερουχ (Gen 11:20)
	ραγαυ (49)	Ραγαυ (59)	ܐܪܥܘ	ʾarʿú (16)	ραγαυ (Gen 11:18)
	φαλεκ (50)	Φαλεκ (60)	ܦܠܓ	pālāg (15)	παλεκ (Gen 11:16)
	εβερ (51)	Εβερ (61)	ܥܒܪ	ʿābār (14)	εβερ (Gen 11:14)
	σαλα (52)	Σαλα (62)	ܫܠܚ	šālāḥ (13)	σαλα (Gen 11:13)
3:36		Καιναμ (63)			καιναν (Gen 11:12)
	αρφαξαδ (53)	Αρφαξαδ (64)	ܐܪܦܟܫܪ	ʾarpakšar (12)	αρφαξαδ (Gen 11:10)
	σημ (54)	Σημ (65)	ܫܝܡ	ším (11)	σημ (Gen 5:32)
	νωε (55)	Νωε (66)	ܢܘܚ	núḥ (10)	νωε (Gen 5:29)
	λαμεκ (56)	Λαμεχ (67)	ܠܡܟ	lāmāk (9)	λαμεχ (Gen 5:25)
3:37	μαθουσαλα (57)	Μαθθουσαλα (68)	ܡܬܘܫܠܚ	matúšlaḥ (8)	μαθουσαλα (Gen 5:21)
	αινωχ (58)	Ενωχ (69)	ܚܢܘܟ	ḥnúk (7)	ενωκ (Gen 5:18)
	ιαρεδ (59)	Ιαρετ (70)	ܝܪܕ	yārād (6)	ιαρεδ (Gen 5:15)
	μαλελεηλ (60)	Μαλελεηλ (71)	ܡܗܠܠܐܝܠ	mahlālāʾél (5)	μαλελεηλ (Gen 5:12)
	καϊναν (61)	Καιναν (72)	ܩܝܢܢ	qaynān (4)	καιναν (Gen 5:9)
3:38	αινως (62)	Ενως (73)	ܐܢܘܫ	ʾānúš (3)	ενως (Gen 5:6)
	σηθ (63)	Σηθ (74)	ܫܝܬ	šít (2)	σηθ (Gen 5:3)
	αδαμ (64)	Αδαμ (75)	ܐܕܡ	ʾādām (1)	αδαμ (Gen 2:16)
	θυ (65)	ΘΥ (76)			

Table 3. Section 3 of 3: From Abraham to Adam (Luke 3:34–38)

So in comparison with the mainstream tradition, the overall effect of Bezae's Lukan genealogy is that of a text form that has been harmonised

with Matthew, with additional names from the LXX added for completeness.

Aphrahat's Genealogical List

Turning to Aphrahat's list of names in *Demonstration* 23.21, we find simply an enumeration of sixty-three generations (ܫܘܪܒܒܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܪܒܢ) without any explicit attribution or implicit clues pointing to a particular gospel source.[6] As for implicit clues, there are no connecting genitive expressions (ܒܪ 'son of'), as found in the Syriac versions of Luke, or verbal constructions (ܐܘܠܕ: 'begat'), as found in the Syriac versions of Matthew. But Aphrahat does provide connecting words (ܐܘܠܕ: 'begat') in the short genealogy from Zerubbabel to Joseph in the preceding section (*Dem.* 23.20), suggesting that here he is working with a Matthaean tradition and that, when he does intend to cite from a genealogy, he presents the text with connecting words rather than simply as a list.[7] But the lack of any such connective fabric in *Demonstration* 23.21 raises the question as to whether Aphrahat intends to cite a Lukan text or indeed any gospel text at all, rather than merely a list of names derived from other sources, such as Matthew and the LXX.

As for an explicit attribution, Aphrahat offers no identification of a source nor any introductory formula for the list of names in *Demonstration* 23.21, but he does cite his texts elsewhere with an introductory formula.[8] For example, in the preceding section (*Dem.* 23.20), Aphrahat introduces his citations with the formulae 'as it is written' (ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ) and 'the Apostle testifies' (ܘܫܠܝܚܐ ܣܗܕ).[9] So there is no indication in *Demonstration* 23.21 that we have a gospel citation versus a floating tradition assembled from Mat-

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[6] The IGNTP apparatus implies that Aphrahat attests Bezae's reading, noting that 'This is also found in Aphrahat Dem 23. 21, with minor variations which are given here in parentheses' (vol. 1, p. 69), yet the variant as cited includes the connecting article τον outside of parentheses (as found in D). Aphrahat however attests no connecting words, such as ܒܪ.

[7] ܘܙܘܪܒܒܠ ܐܘܠܕ: ܐܒܝܘܕ. ܘܐܒܝ̈ܘܕ: ܐܘܠܕ: ܐܠܝܩܝܡ 'Zerubbabel begat Abiud, Abiud begat Eliakim, etc.' *Dem.* 23.20. In the next section (23.22), Aphrahat begins a more detailed account of the genealogy using the verb 'begat.' On Aphrahat's possible use of the separate gospels, see Baarda, *Quotations*, p. 321.

[8] On quotations and allusions in Aphrahat, see Baarda, *Quotations*, pp. 290–291.

[9] *Dem.* 23.20.

thew, Luke and the LXX. We should observe, though, that none of the names that appear in Aphrahat's list requires a Lukan source: all may be obtained from Matthew or the LXX. After all, Aphrahat excludes all forty of Luke's unique names (from Heli through Nathan). So besides the fact that the list starts with Adam, we lack any necessary connection with Luke. However, Aphrahat's beginning with Adam is explainable in other ways such as his frequent references to continuity in salvation history from Adam to Christ. So this feature is quite possibly coincidental, especially when we consider that the order of the names is reversed: Adam is last in the Lukan genealogy, but first in Aphrahat's list, suggesting that Aphrahat's list is not presented as a parallel alternative to Luke.

In considering this question, we should acknowledge the possibility that Aphrahat lacked access to the separate gospels, a possibility allowed by his apparent dependence on harmony traditions (presumably the Diatessaron) which seems to have excluded the genealogies.[10] Our earliest mention of the Diatessaron by name indicates specifically that it contained no genealogy.[11] Nor does the genealogy appear in any of our limited surviving Diatessaronic sources.[12] Moreover, in commenting on the genealogies, the Ephremic commentator of the Syriac *Commentary on the Diatessaron* must set aside his Diatessaronic text and refer directly to Matthew and Luke by name.[13] Given that Aphrahat's access to the separated gospels is at best uncertain and presuming that the harmony tradition upon which he depends lacked a genealogy, it is indeed possible that the twenty-nine names that are unique to Matthew derive from a floating tradition.

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[10] On Aphrahat's apparent use of the *Diatessaron*, see Baarda, *Quotations*, p. 346, 349. On the admissibility of so-called Diatessaronic sources in Latin and the vernacular harmonies in the West, see U.B. Schmid, 'The Diatessaron of Tatian' in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. B.D. Ehrman and M.W. Holmes (2nd edn; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 115–142 at pp. 137–138.

[11] Οὗτος καὶ τὸ διά τεσσάρων καλούμενον συντέθεικεν εὐαγγέλιον, τάς τε γενεαλογίας περικόψας. Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. 457), cited by W.L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 41. Petersen's translation: 'This one [Tatian] also composed the gospel called Diatessaron by cutting out the genealogies …' (p. 42).

[12] For example, the genealogies are lacking in the Arabic Diatessaron.

[13] *CDiat.* I.26.

DESCRIBING THE EVIDENCE

Given the formulaic genre of the ancient genealogy, we focus our description on the structure, particularly the numerology, of Aphrahat's tradition. We then examine how this structure might be reflected in Codex Bezae.

The Structure of Aphrahat's Genealogical List

An important aspect of the structure for Aphrahat is the number of generations between Adam and Christ, which Aphrahat places at sixty-three generations. Aphrahat makes three different references to the number sixty-three in the immediate context, suggesting that the number carries particular significance for him. The first mention of sixty-three generations, in the section preceding his genealogical list (23.20), makes clear that the list that follows gives the genealogy of Jesus' paternal line (ܫܪܒܐ ܕܐܒܗܘܬܐ) through Joseph, as Aphrahat observes, 'the paternal line is transmitted from Adam to Joseph through sixty three generations'.[14] The second mention of sixty-three generations introduces the genealogical list itself with the words, 'the reckoning of these sixty-three generations from Adam to the birth of the Messiah follows'.[15] The third mention occurs in the previous section (*Dem.* 23.20), where Aphrahat mentions the number sixty-three as the number of years from Jehoiachin's captivity to the restoration, observing that 'blessing returned to Jerusalem from Babylon sixty-three years after the time of Jehoiachin's captivity', presumably relating the restoration of Israel with the restoration he envisions with the coming of Christ.[16] Finally, in apparent reference to Daniel 9:25, Aphrahat mentions the number sixty-two as the number of weeks before the birth and death of Christ, writing that 'after sixty-two weeks the Messiah is born and put to death', though without specifying the beginning or accounting for the other seven weeks mentioned in Daniel.[17] Connecting the death of Christ with the 'grape' theme of *Demonstration* 23, Aphrahat continues that 'a small cluster of blessing raises

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[14] ܐܠܐ ܫܪܒܐ ܕܐܒܗܘܬܐ ܐܬܝܒܠ ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܒܕܪܐ ܠܝܘܣܦ ܠܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܪܒܢ (*Dem.* 23.20): all translations are mine, made with reference to Graffin's Latin translation.

[15] ܡܚܝܠ ܡܛܠ ܚܘܫܒܢܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܪܒܢ ܡܢ ܐܕܡ ܒܕܪܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ (*Dem.* 23.21).

[16] ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܦܢܬ ܒܘܪܟܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܒܠ ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܡܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܐܫܬܒܝ ܝܘܝܟܝܢ (*Dem.* 23.20).

[17] ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܫܬܝܢ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܫܒܘܥܝܢ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܐܬܩܛܠ (*Dem.* 23.20).

itself from the cluster of grapes and the whole cluster is handed over to destruction'.[18] The point seems to be that these apocalyptic themes find fulfilment in the death and resurrection of Christ.

Luke's genealogy in the mainstream tradition consists of 77 generations, which divide eleven ways into groups of seven.[19] Aphrahat's total of sixty-three generations is unique among our variant forms of the Lukan genealogy and offers a clue as to the organisation of the names, where we find the list to be divisible into six decades of ten names arranged symmetrically around a central triad of three, as shown in Table 4:

Section	From	To	Number of Names
Decade 1	αβιουδ	ιωσηφ	10
Decade 2	ιωαθαν	ζοροβαβελ	10
Decade 3	σολομων	αζαριας	10
Triad	ωβηδ	δαυιδ	3
Decade 4	ισαακ	βοος	10
Decade 5	σημ	αβρααμ	10
Decade 6	αδαμ	νωε	10
Total			63

Table 4. Numerological Structure of Aphrahat's Genealogical List

While Aphrahat does not tell us directly the significance of the number sixty-three, the context suggests that it conveys a sense of the fullness of time from Adam to Christ as the combination of sixty, the basis of the sex-

[18] ܘܐܬܦܪܫܬ ܠܓܘܦܬܐ ܕܒܪܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܣܓܘܠܐ ܘܐܫܬܠܡ ܟܠܗ ܣܓܘܠܐ ܠܚܒܠܐ (*Dem.* 23.20).

[19] There is some uncertainty concerning the initial text of Luke 3:23–38. For example, Codex Vaticanus (GA 03/B) has 76 generations, while Codex Alexandrinus (GA 02/A) has 74. But Codex Sinaiticus (GA 01/א) attests 77 generations along with the Byzantine tradition. Basil of Caesarea follows Vaticanus with seventy-six generations down to Joseph: 'Count the generations from Adam to … Christ, and you will find, according to the genealogy of Luke, that the Lord was born in the seventy-seventh.' *Epist.* 260.5 (NPNF[2] 8:298). These figures count the names from God through Joseph. On the structure of the Lukan genealogy, see J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke (I-IX): Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (2nd edn; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), pp. 491, 496.

agesimal system, and three, both with a rich potential symbolism.[20] The structure is demarcated by the names of prominent biblical figures who appear at the end of each decade: Thus, the first decade runs from Adam to Noah, the second from Shem to Abraham, the third from Isaac to Boaz, the fourth from Solomon to Uzziah (Azariah), the fifth from Jotham to Zerubbabel, and the sixth from Abiud to Joseph. At the center is a triad, which ends with the most significant figure, David, preceded by his immediate forbears, Jesse and Obed. So the six groups of ten and the central three evoke a rich symbolism.

It is significant then that three of Aphrahat's distinctive variants seem intended to secure these boundaries along prominent names. If we allow that the tradition is Lukan—a supposition which is, however, far from certain—starting with Adam rather than God brings the first decade down to Noah.[21] Omitting Cainan brings the second decade to Abraham. Adding four LXX kings not mentioned by Matthew—Ahaziah (4 Kgs 8:25), Joash (4 Kgs 12:2), Amaziah (4 Kgs 15:1) and Jehoiakim (4 Kgs 23:36)—brings the fifth and sixth decades down to Zerubbabel and Joseph respectively.

The Structure of Bezae's Lukan Genealogy

This division of generations transfers to Bezae through the list of names, but is apparently preserved also in the codex itself, where we find the same divisions of ten preserved between Bezae's folios as shown in Figures 1, 2 and 3.

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[20] We observe that in Syriac, the gematric value of 63 corresponds to the consonantal root of *saggi* (semkat = 60, gamal = 3), meaning 'much', 'many', 'great', aligning with this idea.

[21] At the beginning of the section following the genealogical list (*Dem.* 23.22), Aphrahat mentions that God created and begat Adam, which may suggest that he viewed the list in a Lukan context, even though the list itself is confined to the human participants starting with Adam (unlike the Lukan genealogy).

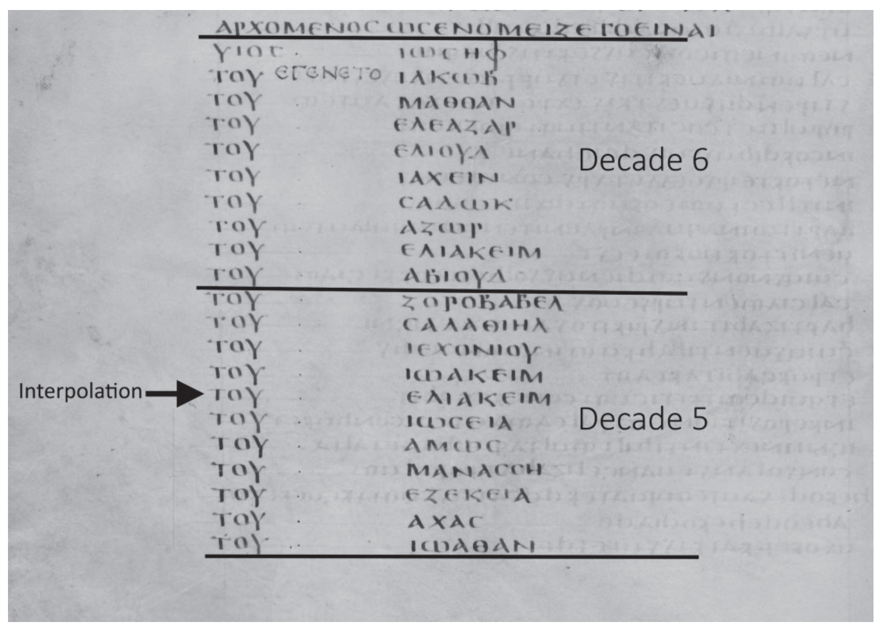


Figure 1. Structure of Bezae's Lukan Genealogy: Folio 195 verso, Decades 5 and 6 Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. This image can be viewed at https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00002-00041/371

Decade 4

Triad

Decade 3

Decade 2

Figure 2. Structure of Bezae's Lukan Genealogy: Folio 196 verso, Decades 2 through 4 and Central Triad.

Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. This image can be viewed at https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00002-00041/373

Figure 3. Structure of Bezae's Lukan Genealogy: Folio 197 recto, Decade 1. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. This image can be viewed at https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00002-00041/374

The two decades from Joseph to Jotham are found on folio 195, producing an even division between Jotham and Uzziah. Three decades from Uzziah to Shem and the centre triad are found on folio 196, producing an even division between Shem and Noah. The final decade from Abraham to Adam is found on folio 197. It seems possible at least that someone in Bezae's tradition recognised that the generations of the centre folio—consisting of the third, fourth and fifth decades and central triad (that is, thirty-three generations)—align precisely with Bezae's format of thirty-three lines per page, with decade boundaries falling evenly on either side. Of course this still requires that the initial boundary align with the page divisions. It is noteworthy then that the duplication of Jehoiakim, while it breaks the second decade with eleven names, achieves precisely this aim, securing the initial alignment of decade boundaries at the expense of the numerology, while maintaining thirty-three lines per page.

Coming to the end of the genealogy in Bezae, we are surprised to find twenty-two blank lines, a feature that otherwise occurs only at the end of a

book.[22] Of course this may reflect the special status of the genealogy in Bezae's tradition. But it may also suggest that the genealogy we find was once a standalone tradition, not initially part of Bezae's tradition, but at some point imported after transcription onto blank sheets reserved for this purpose. If this is the case, it seems that insufficient space was allocated. Unlike anywhere else in Bezae, the Greek and Latin columns starting with Uzziah are not on facing pages, but side-by-side on the same page.[23] This abrupt consolidation of columns on a single page—after the first two decades appear on separate pages—would have been necessary in this scenario when it was realised that there would not otherwise be sufficient space for the last eleven names. While many mysteries remain, we may at least infer that the harmonised genealogy was esteemed highly enough to warrant such disruption to the layout of the codex. From the abrupt switch to a single-page format, we may further surmise that the genealogy was not initially part of Bezae's bilingual tradition, but included somewhat later, a notion enhanced by the reading's singular support.

RECONSTRUCTING CHANGE

With this description, we now seek to reconstruct a transmission history, not to establish a single initial text but rather to support a larger aim of understanding the texts we have and the communities that shaped them. Parker observes that 'the task of recovering an original text' (I would add establishing the sequence of readings) 'has always required the reconstruction of the way in which that text changed as it was copied'.[24] In general, we might conclude that Bezae's genealogy, as the Greek text form, represents the source of the Syriac list we find in Aphrahat. But the anomalies we encounter suggest that Bezae's genealogy, at least in its final form, is not Aphrahat's source. We have already seen that Bezae's duplication of Jehoia-

[22] Matthew ends on folio 103, leaving ten blank lines; John ends on folio 181, leaving nine blank lines; Luke ends on folio 284, leaving three blank lines; Mark (supplement) ends on folio 348, leaving eleven blank lines; 1 John ends on folio 415, leaving 21 blank lines. In each case, the blank space is filled with an incipit and an explicit.

[23] Parker suggests that this feature is a relic of the two-column format of Bezae's exemplar. D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), p. 95.

[24] Parker, *Living Text*, p. 45.

kim disrupts the internal structure with an additional name, suggesting that the significance of the earlier tradition was not fully appreciated in Bezae's context.[25] Moreover, Bezae's use of the genealogy *as a Lukan genealogy* requires it to start with the name of God, forcing an eleventh name into the first decade, suggesting again that the producers of Bezae's text had moved beyond Aphrahat's use of the generations to demonstrate prophecy. It is possible then that Bezae's text form postdates Aphrahat, a possibility enhanced by the absence of the Latin support that typically accompanies Bezae's distinctive readings. For Aphrahat, the unified list of generations is taken for granted and merely incidental to the demonstration of prophecy. Yet it is apparently this very feature that drew the producers of Bezae's final text form to Aphrahat's tradition.

CONTEXTUALISATION

If we accept this reconstruction, we can begin to contextualise these texts in a historical setting. As Parker suggests, 'we begin with the manuscript tradition, and with it the history of the text in the early Christian communities from whom we have received it'.[26] While the survey below does not claim to be exhaustive, it is intended to provide a sense of the development of opinions concerning the relationship of the Matthaean and Lukan genealogies until the time of Bezae's production around 400 CE.

The Genealogies in the Second Century

At first glance, we might suppose that Aphrahat's list of names leads to a second-century context, possibly even to a Diatessaronic tradition, at a time when questions were initially raised about the fourfold gospel tradition. This would assume, of course, that the point of Aphrahat's list is to harmonise two genealogies. But as we have seen, Aphrahat seems more interested in fulfillment of prophecy concerning the birth of the Messiah than in reconciling the gospel texts underlying his list, which it is uncertain he even had in his possession. Moreover, our sources suggest that while both genealogies were apparently known in the second century, they were not necessarily viewed as in tension.

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[25] For example, the duplication may result from a marginal comment misjudged as a correction.

[26] Parker, *Living Text*, pp. 93–94.

Justin Martyr

As one of our earliest sources, Justin Martyr's testimony is worth mentioning due to his apparent allusion to both genealogies and his silence about any conflict between them. Beginning with Justin, we find an early interest in the genealogy of Mary as Jesus' only human ancestor according to the Gospel of Matthew (1:18) and, in addition, the possibility that Justin regarded the Lukan genealogy to be that of Mary. The evidence of Justin's rather free citations suggests that he did have access to Luke or at least material derived from Luke.[27] Yet Justin's possible allusion to the Lukan genealogy relies on a conjectural emendation to Parisinus gr. 450, our only independent witness to the *Dialogue with Trypho*.[28] This emendation proposes the name 'Adam' where Parisinus gr. 450 reads 'Abraham' as the initial progenitor of the genealogy from which Justin invokes Mary's descent, to explain why Jesus called himself 'Son of Man'. The emended text reads as follows:

> He called himself Son of Man either because of his birth by the Virgin who was … of the family of David and Jacob and Isaac and Abraham, or because Adam [or Abraham, according to Parisinus gr. 450] himself was the father of those above-named patriarchs, from whom Mary traces her descent.[29]

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[27] On Justin's access to Luke, see A.J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), p. 140 and O. Skarsaune, 'Justin and His Bible' in *Justin Martyr and His Worlds*, ed. S. Parvis and P. Foster (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 53–76 at p. 64, who notes that 'direct recourse to the full text of specific Gospels is more frequent in the *Dialogue*'. But for qualifications, see A. Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus: Looking for Luke in the Second Century* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), pp. 291–292.

[28] Parisinus gr. 450 is dated to 11 September 1364 at the bottom of folio 461r. Our other witness, Codex Claromontanus 82, dated 2 April 1541, is a direct copy of the Paris manuscript. The evidence is reviewed by M. Marcovich, 'Notes on Justin Martyr's *Apologies*', *Illinois Classical Studies* 17 (1992) 323–335 at p. 323. As Marcovich observes, Parisinus gr. 450 is well-known for its numerous 'textual gaps, corruptions, scribal errors and intrusive marginal glosses'.

[29] Υἱὸν οὐν ἀνθρώπου ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν, ἤτοι ἀπὸ τῆς γεννήσεως τῆς διὰ παρθένου, ἥτις ἦν, ὡς ἔφην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαυὶδ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἀβραὰμ γένους, ἢ διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀβραὰμ [τὸν Ἀδὰμ *coni.* Thirlby, Maran, Otto, Archambault, Marcovich] πατέρα καὶ τούτων τῶν κατηριθμημένων, ἐξ ὧν

Accepting the conjecture, Oskar Skarsaune suggests:

> We have perhaps an echo of Luke's genealogy in *Dial.* 100:3, where Justin, seemingly *malapropos*, explains the title 'Son of Man' as signifying Christ's descent from Adam. Immediately before, Justin has tried to relate the title to Matthew's genealogy, and he represents the two explanations as possible alternatives: 'He called himself Son of Man … either from his birth by the Virgin, who was … of the race of David and Jacob and Isaac and Abraham, or because Adam himself is father even of those who have been enumerated.'[30]

If we accept the conjecture, Justin apparently views the Lukan genealogy as an account not of Joseph's lineage, but rather of Mary's descent through David and the patriarchs to Adam. Yet we find Justin's interest in Mary's genealogy also in the *First Apology*, where he refers to Mary's descent from Judah as follows:

> For by the power of God he [Christ] was conceived by a virgin of the seed of Jacob, who was the father of Judah, the father of the Jews.[31]

Justin's interest in Mary's lineage as a way to link Jesus to the patriarchs and possibly to Adam suggests that he has access to a genealogy that he believes traces Mary's descent at least as far as the patriarchs. Whether this genealo-

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κατάγει ἡ Μαρία τὸ γένος. *Dial.* 100.3, ed. P. Bobichon (2 vols; Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2003), 1:454; *St. Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho*, trans. T.B. Falls and T. Halton (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003), p. 151. Bobichon chooses Ἀβραὰμ. The translation by Halton (2003) after Falls (1948) opts for 'Adam'. Editors who read the conjecture include S. Thirlby (1722), P. Maran (1742) followed by J.P. Migne (*PG* 6, 1857, 1884), J. Otto (1877), G. Archambault (1909), and M. Marcovich (1997). It makes little sense for Justin to observe that Abraham is the father of a list of patriarchs that includes himself, lending credence to the conjecture, though this would apparently make 'Abraham' the *lectio difficilior*.

[30] O. Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy: A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), p. 386.

[31] Διὰ γὰρ παρθένου τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἰακὼβ, τοῦ γενομένου πατρὸς Ἰούδα, τοῦ δεδηλωμένου Ἰουδαίων πατρός, διὰ δυνάμεως θεοῦ ἀπεκυήθη. *1 Apol.* 32, ed. C. Munier (*SC* 507.216); *St. Justin Martyr, The First and Second Apologies*, trans. L.W. Barnard, (ACW 56; New York: Paulist, 1997) 45–46.

gy is the Matthaean or Lukan genealogy is immaterial for our purposes, though Luke seems the more likely choice.[32] It is clear, then, why Justin sees no conflict.

Irenaeus

While Justin's reference to the Lukan genealogy is uncertain, that of Irenaeus is more clear. He cites the Lukan genealogy with its Matthaean counterpart to support his doctrine of recapitulation. Irenaeus first cites the Matthaean genealogy to argue that Jesus could not have been physically born of Joseph, because Jeremiah had cursed Jeconiah's descendants, barring them from the throne, as Irenaeus explains:

> For Joseph is seen to be the son of Joachim and Jechonias, as also Matthew explains His origin. Now Jechonias and all his descendants were disinherited from the kingdom. So says Jeremiah …[33]

Irenaeus then cites the Lukan genealogy to argue that Christ, as a descendant of Adam, is thus able to rescue all humanity, writing:

> Luke shows that the genealogy of our Lord, … extends to Adam, … and so he … points out that he [Christ] … recapitulates in himself all the nations that had been dispersed from Adam onward.[34]

Irenaeus implies that Jesus' descent from Adam as recorded by Luke is a physical lineage and hence must be that of Mary, because Joseph's line was

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[32] Justin apparently assumes that Mary's genealogy is given under Joseph's name in either Matthew 1:16 or Luke 3:23.

[33] *Ioseph enim Ioachim et Iechoniae filius ostenditur, quemadmodum et Matthaeus generationem eius exponit. Iechonias autem et qui ab eo omnes abdicati sunt a regno, Hieremia dicente sic. Haer.* 3.21.9, ed. A. Rousseau (*SC* 211.422); *St. Irenaeus of Lyons, Against the Heresies. Book 3*, trans. D.J. Unger (ACW 64; New York: Newman, 2012), pp. 101–102.

[34] *Propter hoc Lucas genealogiam quae est a generatione Domini nostri usque ad Adam LXXII generationes habere ostendit, finem coniungens initio et significans quoniam ipse est qui omnes gentes exinde ab Adam dispersas et universas linguas et generationes hominum cum ipso Adam in semetipso recapitulatus est. Haer.* 3.22.3–4. (*SC* 211.438; Unger, p. 104). Irenaeus states that there are seventy-two generations in the Lukan genealogy, without specifying the names. Most witnesses attest seventy-seven generations.

disinherited. Not surprisingly, then, Irenaeus mentions no discrepancy between Luke and Matthew.

Tatian

The most likely of second-century writers to have attempted to harmonise the genealogies would be Tatian. We have already noticed, however, that our best witnesses to the Diatessaron apparently lack a genealogy altogether. Writing in the fifth century, Theodoret of Cyrrhus attributes this to Tatian's prejudice against Jesus' Davidic heritage rather than any concerns regarding the inconsistency of the genealogies.[35] That Tatian did in fact exclude the genealogy is suggested also by the *Syriac Commentary on the Diatessaron* attributed to Ephrem, where, as we have noted, the commentator finds it necessary to set aside his Diatessaronic text to invoke Matthew and Luke directly in attempting to defend Mary's origins from David as opposed to Levi.[36] Judging from the available sources, it appears that Tatian offers no evidence of concern regarding a conflict between the two genealogies.

Celsus

Of all the early testimony, the silence of Celsus concerning any inconsistencies in the genealogies is most striking. Alluding to Luke's genealogy, Celsus asserts that 'the framers of the genealogies, from a feeling of pride, made Jesus to be descended from the first man, and from the kings of the Jews'.[37] According to Origen, Celsus then proceeds to criticise other aspects of the genealogies, dwelling on what seems to him the incongruous notion that Mary, 'the carpenter's wife' (ἡ τοῦ τέκτονος γυνὴ) was seemingly ignorant of her 'illustrious descent' (τηλικούτου γένους τυγχάνουσα ἠγνόει).[38] In-

[35] Theodoret of Cyrrhus, d. 457 CE. See above.

[36] For problems with the traditional attribution of the *Syriac Commentary*, see C. Lange, *Ephraem der Syrer. Kommentar zum Diatessaron*, (2 vols; Fontes Christiani 54; Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 1:53–55, 69–80; C. Lange, 'A View on the Integrity of the Syriac Commentary on the Diatessaron', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 56 (2004) 129–144 at p. 143; W.L. Petersen, 'Some Remarks on the Integrity of Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron', *Studia Patristica* 20 (1989) 197–202

[37] Φησὶ δὲ ἀπηυθαδῆσθαι τοὺς γενεαλογήσαντας ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου φύντος καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰουδαίοις βασιλέων τὸν Ἰησοῦν. *Cels.* 2.32, ed. M. Borret (*SC* 132.364; ANF 4:444).

[38] *Cels.* 2.32 (*SC* 132.364; ANF 4:444).

deed, Origen takes Celsus to task for his neglect of what had evidently become by the third century the more obvious problem, writing:

> in finding fault with our Lord's genealogy, there are certain points which occasion some difficulty even to Christians, and which, owing to the discrepancy between the genealogies, are advanced by some as arguments against their correctness, but which Celsus has not even mentioned. For Celsus, who is truly a braggart, and who professes to be acquainted with all matters relating to Christianity, does not know how to raise doubts in a skilful manner against the credibility of Scripture.[39]

It is clear though that Celsus, like (apparently) Justin and Irenaeus, understood Luke's genealogy to be that of Mary, given his objection concerning Mary's ignorance of her descent. We find no evidence then that differences between the genealogies of Matthew and Luke occasioned any concern in Justin, Irenaeus, Tatian, or even the hostile witness Celsus. Since Bezae's version of the genealogy is evidently motivated by such concerns, it is difficult to see how it could have arisen at this time, in a context that apparently saw nothing to harmonise.

The Genealogies in the Third and Fourth Centuries

Julius Africanus and Eusebius of Caesarea

Not until the third century do we find the discrepancies between the genealogies raised as a problem in apologetic literature. We have already noted that Origen points to these discrepancies as a potential difficulty 'even to Christians' (καί παρά Χριστιανοῖς).[40] According to Eusebius of Caesarea, Julius Africanus, writing early in the third century, noted these discrepancies and proposed the institution of a levirate marriage between Joseph's immediate forbears, Jacob and Heli, as a working solution (Deut. 25:5–6), suggesting that '[w]hen Heli died without children, Jacob raised up seed for him in fathering Joseph, his own natural son but Heli's legal son. Thus Jo-

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[39] Ἐγκαλῶν δὲ τῇ γενεαλογίᾳ τὰ μὲν καὶ παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς ζητούμενα καὶ ὑπό τινων ὡς ἐγκλήματα προσαγόμενα τῇ διαφωνίᾳ τῶν γενεαλογιῶν οὐδαμῶς ὠνόμασεν. Οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει ὁ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀλαζὼν Κέλσος καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενος εἰδέναι πάντα τὰ Χριστιανῶν φρονίμως ἐπαπορῆσαι τῇ γραφῇ. *Cels.* 2.32 (*SC* 132.364; ANF 4:444).

[40] *Cels.* 2.32 (*SC* 132.364).

seph was the son of both'.[41] He admits however that, '[w]hether or not this is true, no one could give a clearer explanation'.[42] Africanus' ambivalence about his own explanation suggests that the problem had not yet attracted attention in the apologetic literature to provide him with a ready solution. Notable is Africanus' assumption, contrasting with that of his second-century counterparts, that both genealogies describe Joseph's lineage, an assumption necessary for the perception of a conflict. While the biblical texts identify Joseph as the subject of the respective genealogies (Matthew 1:16; Luke 3:23), the second-century writers apparently took for granted that Luke had recorded a Marian genealogy extending to Adam under her husband's name.

If the discrepancies between the two genealogies had become troublesome by the third century, by the fourth century they had become a pressing apologetic problem, judging from the intensity of commentary. Of course, we have Africanus' account only from Eusebius, who, writing at the nascence of official Christendom, is eager to assure his readers that while 'the gospels of Matthew and Luke record the genealogy of Christ differently and many suppose that they conflict with one another', the conflict is only apparent.[43] As the century progresses, we find the problem and its proposed solution in levirate marriage mentioned especially in the Latin church: Fortunatianus of Aquileia (d. 358–371), Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367/8), Ambrosiaster (c. 366–384), Ambrose (d. 397), Chromatius (d. 407/8), Chrysostom (d. 407), Jerome (d. 420) and Augustine (d. 430) all mention the problem as only an apparent difficulty, with all but Ambrose proposing a form of levirate marriage (or adoption, in the case of Augustine) as one way to account for the two genealogies, which are uniformly ascribed to Joseph. So by the end of the fourth century, an apologetic explanation had become *de rigueur*, especially in the Latin church, in discussion of the genealogies.

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[41] Ἡλι ἀτέκνου ἀποθανόντος ὁ Ἰακὼβ ἀνέστησεν αὐτῷ σπέρμα, γεννήσας τὸν Ἰωσήφ, κατὰ φύσιν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, κατὰ νόμον δὲ τῷ Ἡλι. οὕτως ἀμφοτέρων ἦν υἱὸς ὁ Ἰωσήφ, ed. E. Schwartz (*GCS* 9/1.60, 62); trans. P.L. Maier, *Eusebius: The Church History* (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2007), p. 38.

[42] εἰ καὶ ἀμάρτυρός ἐστιν, τῷ μὴ κρείττονα ἤ ἀληθεστέραν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν. Eusebius, *H. E.* 1.7 (*GCS* 9/1.60, 62; trans. Maier, p. 38).

[43] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαλογίαν διαφόρως ἡμῖν ὅ τε Ματθαῖος καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμενοι παραδεδώκασι διαφωνεῖν τε νομίζονται τοῖς πολλοῖς. *H.E.* 1.7 (*GCS* 9/1.52; trans. Maier, p. 35).

However, there are still appearances of the earlier view in which no conflict is mentioned, as in the *Syriac Commentary on the Diatessaron*.

Ephrem

We refer here to the *Syriac Commentary on the Diatessaron* attributed to Ephrem, although it was apparently further revised by members of Ephrem's circle in the decades following his death in 373 CE, perhaps as late as the 390s.[44] As such, it provides us with valuable commentary on the genealogies in the Syriac church in the latter fourth century just before Bezae's production. Unlike earlier writers in the West, the commentator reverses the attribution of the genealogies, assigning Matthew's genealogy to Mary and Joseph's to Luke, commenting that 'Matthew committed the genealogy *of Mary* to writing'.[45] On the other hand, the commentator remarks that 'Luke recorded the lineage of Joseph alone, the husband of Mary, all the way back to Adam' and, in addition, that 'Luke takes no notice of Mary, that is, by committing her genealogy to writing'.[46] More significant for our purposes is the fact that still in the fourth century the Ephremic tradition regards the two genealogies as distinct accounts of Mary's and Joseph's descents and hence mentions nothing of any inconsistency between them. The commentator's concern is not about inconsistencies between the genealogies, but how to reconcile Luke's assertions that Mary was a relative of Elizabeth from a priestly family (Luke 1:36), yet her offspring was to have the throne of David from the family of Judah (Luke 1:32). So as far as we can tell from the *Syriac Commentary*, the question of an inconsistency be-

[44] Lange, 'Integrity', p. 144.

[45] ܡܬܝ ܕܝܢ ܫܪܒܬܗ ܗܘ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܐܟܬܒ ܕܝܘܣܦ ܐܬܬܠܝ܆ ܡܢ. Ephrem, *CDiat.* I.26. L. Leloir, *Saint Éphrem. Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant: Texte syriaque (MS Chester Beatty 709)*, (Chester Beatty Monographs 8; Dublin, 1963), p. 26, translations (and italics) mine. McCarthy's rendering, 'Matthew wrote concerning the genealogy of Mary', seems too indirect, implying the presence of ܥܠ, which however is not found in the text. So ܫܪܒܬܗ ('her genealogy') is perhaps better taken as the direct object of ܐܟܬܒ ('write down'), with the *Afel* nuance emphasising the compositional aspect. See C. McCarthy, *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron: an English translation of Chester Beatty Syriac MS 709* (Oxford: OUP, 1993), p. 55. Unfortunately, the Armenian translation is not extant here for comparison.

[46] ܠܘܩܐ ܕܝܢ ܢܩܦ ܒܠܚܘܕ܆ ܠܒܢܘܗܝ ܕܝܘܣܦ ܒܥܠܗ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܠܐܕܡ and ܠܡܪܝܡ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܒܥܐ܆ ܗܘ ܠܘܩܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܪܒܬܗ ܐܟܬܒ. Ephrem, *CDiat.* I.26. Leloir, *Commentaire*, p. 26.

tween the Matthaean and Lukan genealogies seems not to have occurred to Ephrem or the tradition that produced his commentary. Ephrem's tradition, while reversing the attribution of the genealogies, still regards the two genealogies as distinct at the end of the fourth century, suggesting that the tradition of separate genealogies for Mary and Joseph had some longevity, particularly in the East.

Fortunatianus of Aquileia

Our earliest surviving Latin commentary on the gospels belongs to Fortunatianus of Aquileia, who, according to Jerome's testimony in *De uiris illustribus*, penned his commentary sometime during the reign of Constantius II (337–361), making him the first Latin source to comment on the problem of harmonising the Matthaean and Lukan genealogies as parallel accounts of Jesus' lineage.[47] It is significant for our purposes that Fortunatianus first rejects the notion that the two genealogies belong respectively to Joseph and Mary, indicating that he was aware of such a tradition and explicitly rejected it. As Fortunatianus observes, '[m]any interpreters want the genealogy Matthew lists to be deemed as that of Joseph and the genealogy Luke lists to be deemed as that of Mary so that, because the man is said to be the head of the woman, her genealogy is also named from the male side'.[48] Rejecting this interpretation, Fortunatianus insists rather that 'Joseph … is the son of two men: one according to the flesh, meaning Jacob, and one according to the Law, meaning Heli'.[49] Appealing to the institution of levirate marriage, Fortunatianus suggests that '[w]hen Heli had died, Jacob, being his nearest relative, therefore took his wife and fathered Joseph'.[50] This position follows Julius Africanus in proposing that Jacob, the royal heir, is the

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[47] *Vir. Ill.* 97. See *Fortunatianus Aquileiensis, Commentarii in evangelia*, ed. L.J. Dorfbauer (CSEL 103.3).

[48] *Multi uolunt generationem, quam enumerat Matheus, deputari Ioseph et generationem, quam enumerat Luca(nu)s, deputari Mariae, ut, quia caput mulieris uir dicitur, <de> uiro etiam eiusdem generatio nuncupetur. Comm. ev.*, lines 157–160 (CSEL 103.117); trans. H.A.G. Houghton, *Fortunatianus of Aquileia: Commentary on the Gospels*, CSEL extra seriem (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), pp. 6–7.

[49] *Est ergo Ioseph duorum filius, unius iuxta carnem, id est Iacob, et alterius iuxta legem, id est Heli. Comm. ev.* 138–139 (CSEL 103.116; Houghton, trans., p. 6).

[50] *Iacob igitur defuncto Heli, cum esset proximus, accepit uxorem eius et generauit Ioseph. Comm. ev.* 139–140 (CSEL 103.116; Houghton, trans., p. 6).

one who raised Joseph in Heli's place following Heli's death, an arrangement also mentioned by Chromatius, but reversed by Ambrosiaster, who makes Heli the birth father.

Fortunatianus' testimony is significant in its explicit rejection of the earlier interpretation, in which the two genealogies belong respectively to Joseph and Mary, while at the same time reinforcing our findings that this interpretation had at one time been predominant. Instead, Fortunatianus insists on reconciling the two genealogies as genealogies of Joseph. Thus, one of the genealogies, in this case Matthew, is taken as the physical genealogy (*iuxta carnem*) and the other, in this case Luke, as the genealogy 'according to the Law' (*iuxta legem*), with an appeal to the hypothesis that a levirate marriage had taken place between Joseph's immediate ancestors, Jacob and Heli. But Fortunatianus' rejection of the interpretation that had assigned the two genealogies respectively to each of Jesus' parents raises a predictable tension that demands an interpretative resolution, such as an appeal to the custom of levirate marriage. As such, it creates a suitable backdrop for the kind of variation we find in Bezae's Lukan genealogy.

Hilary of Poitiers

Our next Latin commentator is Hilary of Poitiers, who comments on the Matthaean and Lukan genealogies in his *Commentary on Matthew*, written around 353 CE.[51] Like the majority of commentators from the third century forward, Hilary understands both genealogies to belong to Joseph. This raises the predictable tension, which he tries to minimise by suggesting that, because both Mary and Joseph come from the same tribe, '[i]t does not matter that the origin of Joseph instead of Mary is recounted'.[52] Yet there is evidence that Hilary knew of the tradition that the two genealogies belong

[51] R. Gryson, *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins de l'antiquité et du haut Moyen Âge* (Freiburg: Herder, 2007), p. 558. According to Doignon, the commentary was written during Hilary's time as Bishop of Poitiers, before his exile in 356. See J. Doignon, ed., Hilary of Poitiers, *In Matthaeum commentarius*, part 1, *SC* 254.19–20.

[52] *Quod uero Ioseph potiusquam Mariae natiuitas recensetur, nihil refert: eadem enim est totius tribus atque una cognatio*. *Comm. Matt.*, 1.1, ed. Doignon (*SC* 254. 90, 92); trans. M. Simonetti, *Matthew 1–13* (ACCS Matt 1–13; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001), p. 4.

respectively to Joseph and Mary.[53] Hilary begins by describing Matthew's genealogy as a royal (*in ordine regiae*) and paternal (*paternam originem quae ex Iuda proficiscebatur recenset*) line from Judah, suggesting an assignment to Joseph. On the other hand, he describes Luke's as a priestly line (*in sacerdotali origine*) from Levi through Nathan (*acceptum per Nathan ex tribu Leui genus*), an interpretation that evokes the view that Luke's genealogy belongs to Mary, since it explains how Mary might be called a kinswoman of Elizabeth, who is of a priestly tribe (Luke 1:36).[54] So at the outset Hilary appeals to Jesus' royal and priestly roles to account for the separate lineages.[55]

Yet, since both genealogies go through David, to make this royal-priestly interpretation work, Hilary must assume that someone in the royal line married into a Levitical family, which he suggests took place during the exile: 'the association of the priestly and royal tribes that was begun through David from marriage is now confirmed out of the descent from Shealtiel to Zerubbabel'.[56] But because Hilary is unwilling to assign this priestly line to Mary, ultimately he does not show how Jesus could have descended from two lineages. Hilary still tries to address Mary's lineage by suggesting that while Joseph has two lineages, both also apply to Mary: 'Joseph and Mary belonged to the same kinship line. Joseph is shown to have sprung from the line of Abraham. It is revealed that Mary came from this line too'.[57] Of course, ancestry from Abraham would apply to practically *any* married Jewish couple in first-century CE Palestine, substantially blunting the force of the argument.

Facing this predicament, Hilary brings up the levirate interpretation, noting that a 'system is codified in law', that

> if the oldest of a family should die without sons, the next oldest brother of the same family would take the dead man's wife in marriage. He

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[53] *Comm. Matt.* 1.1 (*SC* 254.90).

[54] *Comm. Matt.* 1.1 (*SC* 254.90).

[55] *Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui est aeternus et rex et sacerdos. Comm. Matt.* 1.1 (*SC* 254.90).

[56] *sacerdotalis et regiae tribus societas per Dauid ex coniugio inita iam a Salathiel in Zorobabel confirmetur ex genere. Comm. Matt.* 1.1 (*SC* 254.90; ACCS Matt 1–13, p. 4).

[57] *Ita cum eiusdem tribus sit Ioseph et Maria, dum profectus esse ex Abrahae genere Ioseph ostenditur, profecta quoque docetur et Maria. Comm. Matt.* 1.1 (*SC* 254.92; ACCS Matt 1–13, p. 4).

> would consider his sons as received into the family of the one who had died.[58]

Again, however, Hilary does not show how this applies specifically to the two genealogies. This suggests that, while he had heard of this tradition, he was not himself entirely convinced of it or familiar with the details. So Hilary urges his readers to consider ancestry in terms of the tribe rather than the individual, explaining that the evangelists 'name fathers in order not so much by their lineage as by their clan, since the tribe began from one individual and continues under a family of one succession and origin'.[59] Hilary's struggle is palpable in his attempt to make sense of the larger implications of an initial assumption that both genealogies must belong to Joseph, leading Manlio Simonetti to remark somewhat sympathetically:

> The discrepancy between Matthew and Luke in the genealogy of Jesus was troublesome for the ancient exegetes. Hilary here explains it by deriving, from Luke, Jesus' descent from the tribe of Levi, which had no territory of its own and thus was intermingled with the other tribes. In this way the Messiah's royal (from Judah) as well as sacerdotal (from Levi) origin is revealed.[60]

But Hilary's struggles with this interpretation also suggest that it was fairly recent. With little existing commentary upon which to lean for guidance, Hilary is apparently forced to invent as he goes.

Ambrosiaster

Writing in Rome during the papacy of Damasus (366–384), the writer known as Ambrosiaster takes a special interest in problems relating to the genealogies.[61] In his *Questions on the Old and New Testaments*, Ambrosiaster

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[58] *Haec enim in lege ratio seruata est, ut, si mortuus sine filiis familiae princeps fuisset, defuncti uxorem posterior frater eiusdem cognationis acciperet susceptosque filios in familiam eius qui mortuus esset referret. Comm. Matt.* 1.1 (*SC* 254.92; ACCS Matt 1–13, p. 4).

[59] *patres inuicem appellantes non tam genere quam gente, quia ab uno tribus coepta sub unius successionis et originis familia continetur. Comm. Matt.* 1.1 (*SC* 254.92; ACCS Matt 1–13, p. 4).

[60] ACCS Matt 1–13, p. 4 n. 14.

[61] Gryson, *Répertoire*, p. 119.

devotes no fewer than six of 127 questions to the genealogy of Jesus. A sense of the questions he addresses can be gathered from Table 5:

Quaest. 56, OT	Why does Matthew write that the father of Joseph is Jacob and Luke that his father is Heli? Were two different fathers incompetently recorded or is Joseph's true father simply unknown?	*Quare in Matteo pater Iosef Iacob scribitur et in Luca Heli, ut aut duos patres habere inperite descriptus sit aut certe, qui uere pater eius sit, nesciatur?* (CSEL 50.101)
Quaest. 85, OT	When there were clearly seventeen generations from David to the Babylonian exile, why does the evangelist [Matthew] record only fourteen, passing over Ahaziah, son of Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat; Joash son of Ahaziah; and Amaziah son of Joash?	*Quid est ut, cum constet a Dauid usque ad transmigrationem Babylonis septem et decem esse generationes, euangelista quattuordecim dicat praetermisso Ochodia, qui post Ioram est filium Iosafat, et Ioas filio Ochodiae et Amessia filio Ioas?* (CSEL 50.146)
Quaest. 86, OT	How do we know that Mary, Mother of the Lord, is from the tribe and family of David?	*Quid est quod probet Mariam matrem domini ex tribu et semine esse Dauid?* (CSEL 50.147)
Quaest. 5, NT	Why does Matthew write: 'The book of the generations of Jesus Christ, Son of David', when Abraham came before David?	*Quare Matheus euangelium Christi describens dicit: 'Liber generationis Iesu Christi filii Dauid', cum prior sit Abraham?* (CSEL 50.431)
Quaest. 6, NT	Why does Matthew divide all of the generations into three parts?	*Quid est ut generationes omnes in tres partes diuideret supra dictus Matheus apostolus?* (CSEL 50.432)
Quaest. 7, NT	Why does the evangelist [Matthew] count forty-two generations, when he only gives forty-one?	*Quare, cum quadraginta et una sint generationes, euangelista quadraginta et duas numerasse uidetur?* (CSEL 50.432)

Table 5. Ambrosiaster's six Questions concerning the Genealogy of Jesus.[62]

In *Question* 56, Ambrosiaster addresses the problem of reconciling the two genealogies. Assuming that both genealogies are intended to depict the lineage of Joseph, Ambrosiaster appeals to the custom of levirate marriage to reconcile their differences, explaining that:

[62] Ambrosiaster, *Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti CXXVII*, ed. A. Souter (CSEL 50), translations mine.

> Heli took the wife of Jacob as the law commanded that, if anyone died without children, his brother or close relative should take his wife and raise a child for his brother. And so it happened that Heli fathered Joseph for Jacob, whose wife he had taken, and in this way connected the generation. So it is perfectly right to call Heli Joseph's father. This is neither improper nor without some usefulness.[63]

Ambrosiaster's opinion diverges from the other commentators we examine in at least two important respects: first, in identifying Heli rather than Jacob as the birth father and, second, in finding it necessary to defend *the birth father's* right to be called father at all, given his surrogate role under the levirate institution. In fact, Ambrosiaster does not consider the two lineages to present equal alternatives. In his view, the line through the legal father Jacob takes decisive precedence: 'It is not ambiguous who the father of Joseph is, for the line from David through Solomon, holding a straight course, arrives at Jacob, whose son is Joseph'.[64] According to Ambrosiaster then, Heli's role with respect to Joseph, Jacob's rightful son, is temporary (*qui tempore fuit saluatoris*) to connect the generation that would otherwise have fallen out due to Jacob's childless death, as he explains: 'Heli, son of Matthan, who is from David through Nathan, son of the very same David, holds the succession until the time at which the Saviour arrives'.[65] Yet once Joseph's firstborn arrives, Heli has fulfilled his obligation and the succession remains with Jacob. So, according to Ambrosiaster, Heli's status as birth father offers him no claim with regard to the child he fathered for Jacob nor especially to any descendants thereafter and for this reason his name carries no legal or religious significance in Jesus' lineage.[66] To advance

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[63] *Heli acceperit uxorem Iacob, quo modo lex mandauit, ut, si quis mortuus fuisset sine filiis, acciperet frater aut propinquus uxorem eius et resuscitaret semen fratris sui, et ita factum, ut Heli generasset Iosef Iacob, cuius uxorem acceperat, et per hoc iungi generationem, ut non inmerito Iosef patrem habere Heli dicatur, hoc nec probabile est et ad nullam rem proficit. Quaest.* 56.2 (CSEL 50.102).

[64] *Non est ambiguum patrem Iosef Iacob fuisse, ordo enim a Dauid per Solomonem tramitem suum tenens recto cursu peruenit ad Iacob. cuius filius est Iosef. Quaest.* 56.1 (CSEL 50.101).

[65] *Heli autem filius Matthiae, qui a Dauid per Nathan, filium eiusdem Dauid, ordinem tenet usque ad tempus, quo saluator aduenit. Quaest.* 56.1 (CSEL 50.101).

[66] Ambrosiaster mentions nothing of the appearance of Boaz in the genealogy, a situation that appears to undermine his argument.

his own genealogy, Heli would be contending with his dead relative over the rights to his own legal offspring. Ambrosiaster makes it clear that Luke was moved only by divine command (*diuino etenim nutu permotus Lucas est*) to include a genealogy that seems to nullify the basic tenet of levirate marriage, namely, to provide a child *for the deceased*.[67]

But having relegated the Lukan genealogy to decisive second place, Ambrosiaster finds himself grasping for justification for its presence in the gospel, searching for some symbolic meaning in Heli's surrogate role, appealing for example to Romans 9:5, where it is stated that the Christ is from *all* Israel according to the flesh, a category that is sufficiently broad to encompass even Heli.[68] Insisting that Heli's place is 'neither improper nor without some usefulness' (*non … hoc nec probabile est et ad nullam rem proficit*), Ambrosiaster portrays this role as analogous to Joseph's role standing in as father of Jesus.[69] Ambrosiaster is then able to ascend a path from Jesus to Adam to God and thus to argue from the Lukan genealogy that Jesus is thereby shown to be Son of God.[70] In fact, Ambrosiaster refers to Jesus as Son of God no fewer than eight times in his answer to this question, concluding that the Lukan genealogy connects Christ to God the Father (*iungit Christum patri deo*) through two surrogates, Joseph and Heli.[71] So while Ambrosiaster seems to undermine the lower part of the genealogy for purposes of recording the official lineage of Joseph, he manages to find a symbolic usefulness in the upper part of the genealogy as a way to ascend to Adam and ultimately to God, so that 'all might recognise the true Son of God' (*omnes dei uerus filius intellegeretur*).[72] Ambrosiaster then applies this conclusion to heresiological ends:

> to the confounding of Photinus, who contends that Christ is nothing more than a man born of Mary and that he did not exist before his birth

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[67] *Quaest.* 56.1 (CSEL 50.101).

[68] *hinc est quod dicit apostolus: quorum patres et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem*. *Quaest.* 56.1 (CSEL 50.101).

[69] *Quaest.* 56.2 (CSEL 50.102).

[70] *ut ipsum Adam et super Adam doceat esse Christum filium dei*. *Quaest.* 56.3 (CSEL 50.102).

[71] *Quaest.* 56.3 (CSEL 50.103).

[72] *Quaest.* 56.3 (CSEL 50.103).

> from her, that is to say, denying that he was also called Son of God, of whom truly he was son.[73]

Still, in arguing for Heli's usefulness as a path to Adam, Ambrosiaster does little to differentiate the Lukan genealogy from that of Matthew, who simply starts from a different name. Moreover, he is forced to interpret the genealogy against its stated purpose in recording Jesus' lineage. Ultimately, under Ambrosiaster's interpretation, the forty names from the surrogate portion of the genealogy from Nathan to Heli must compete for relevance against the 'straight course' from Solomon through Jacob to Joseph. Significantly, this is the very portion of the genealogy that Bezae replaces with names from Matthew.

In the end, Ambrosiaster's analysis is devastating to the levirate interpretation by showing that its legal principle undermines the Lukan genealogy, given that, even under the levirate interpretation, only one of the fathers can legitimately be called a father for purposes of tracing descent. To call Heli Joseph's father presents him as reneging on his legal obligation with a claim is antithetical to the very purpose of the levirate law to provide an heir for the deceased—a situation that is more damaging than if the levirate duty had never been performed. So Ambrosiaster provides us with a context in which the legal validity of the Lukan genealogy could be challenged in favour of the strictly correct genealogy found in Matthew. It is clear that the approach we find in Bezae fits well under such assumptions, by replacing Luke's entire list of forty names belonging to Heli, the surrogate father, with the legally defensible names found in Matthew, while preserving the names leading up to Adam and ultimately to God. If Bezae's genealogy postdates Aphrahat's tradition, which seems probable on internal grounds, then Ambrosiaster's thinking provides a viable context for Bezae's alternate genealogy. Moreover, Ambrosiaster's somewhat technical argument is clearly aimed more for theologically-inclined interpreters and overseers than the wider church, the same literate group from which we might expect scribes

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[73] *omnes dei uerus filius intellegeretur, ad confusionem Fotini, qui Christum non nisi ex Maria nec ante fuisse contendit, quorum enim non erat, filius dicebatur et dei, cuius uere filius erat, negabatur. Quaest.* 56.3 (CSEL 50.103). On Ambrosiaster's significance for our understanding of Photinus, see L.A. Speller, 'New Light on the Photinians: The Evidence of Ambrosiaster', *JTS* ns 34 (1983) 99–113. However, Speller does not mention the reference in *Quaest.* 50.3.

and correctors of manuscripts to derive. The same individuals who were likely to know of such interpretations would presumably be capable of implementing the kind of redaction we find in Bezae's Lukan genealogy. By decisively prioritising the Matthaean over the Lukan genealogy, Ambrosiaster's elucidation of the legal implications of the levirate interpretation offers us one potential context for Bezae's Lukan genealogy.

Ambrose

Standing next to Ambrosiaster, Ambrose's remarks on the problem of the two genealogies, offered in his *Exposition of Luke* written around 390 CE, appear rather derivative and simply restate opinions in current circulation. In Ambrose, we find a hint of irritation directed at those individuals who are 'in the habit of raising questions' (*aliqui solent serere quaestiones*).[74] It is little surprise, then, that Ambrose takes the prevailing view that both genealogies belong to Joseph, observing that 'the family is everywhere listed through the generations of the husband' (*ubique familiam per uirorum generationes esse decursam*), that Mary's lineage is transferred by marriage to Joseph (*in Ioseph origine etiam origo sit Mariae*), and in any case that Mary and Joseph came from the same tribe (*ex tribu sua et ex patria sua accepit uxorem*).[75] While Ambrose observes that the genealogies differ both in the number and identity of the names listed, he offers no explanation for the discrepancies and, unlike other Latin commentators of the time, does not allude to levirate marriage.[76] Ambrose clearly wants to minimise any perception of conflict between the genealogies, noting that, while Matthew and Luke disagree on some names, they nevertheless agree in connecting Joseph with both David and Abraham (*ab Abraham tamen et Dauid reliquos auctores generis uterque signauit*).[77] At one point, Ambrose suggests that the Matthaean and Lukan genealogies depict on the one hand a royal and on the other a priestly family of Christ (*alteram regalem, alteram sacerdotalem Christi familiam uidetur ostendere*), a suggestion remi-

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[74] *Exp. Luc.* 3.12, ed. M. Adriaen and P.A. Ballerini (CCSL 14/4.82), translation mine.

[75] *Exp. Luc.* 3.4 (CCSL 14/4.77).

[76] *Matthaeus ab Abraham usque ad Christum quadraginta duas generationes enumerauerit, Lucas uero quinquaginta et quod per alias personas Matthaeus, per alias Lucas generationem manasse descripserit … alios Matthaeus maiores dominici generis, alios uero Lucas in ordine generationis texuerit*. *Exp. Luc* 3.12 (CCSL 14/4.82).

[77] *Exp. Luc* 3.12 (CCSL 14/4.82).

niscent of the view that the genealogies depict separate lineages of Joseph and Mary.[78]

While conventional in its approach, Ambrose's discussion offers a glimpse of the kinds of forces operating in the Western church in the latter fourth century, especially in its concern about dissent within the church. In Ambrose's response, we find the concerned reaction of an ecclesiastical authority to the Arian controversies of the mid-fourth century, with a tendency to avoid the hard aspects of the question as a potential source of division and even a tendency to suppress the question itself. But concerns about dissent seem unlikely to have produced textual variation on the scale we find in Bezae's Lukan genealogy, given that such concerns might equally be handled with officially-sanctioned interpretation of the existing text. Contexts like that of Ambrose thus present an unlikely situation for Bezae's harmonised Lukan genealogy.

Chromatius

In his *Tractate I on Matthew* written between 397 and 408 CE, Chromatius offers the most complete account of extant opinion on the genealogies among the writers we examine.[79] Chromatius begins by stating the familiar problem that the genealogies of Matthew and Luke appear to disagree (*dissentire uideatur*), thereby starting from the typical assumption of his times that both genealogies purport to describe the generations of Joseph.[80] Chromatius then states the obvious problem:

> Matthew brings the ancestry of Joseph … down through the royal line, that is, from David through his son Solomon and from there the other kings. Luke however depicts the line of generations of the same Joseph still from David, but running through Nathan, that is, through another line of the family of David, for both Nathan and Solomon are sons of David. So there are two lines of the generations of David: one that descends through Solomon the king, the other through Nathan.[81]

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[78] *Exp. Luc* 3.13 (CCSL 14/4.82).

[79] Gryson, *Répertoire*, 370.

[80] *Tract. Matt* 1.6, ed. R. Étaix and J. Lemarié (CCSL 9A.197).

[81] *Mathaeus genus Ioseph … per successionem regiam deducit, id est a Dauid per Salomonem filium eius et ceteros deinde reges, Lucas uero ordinem eiusdem Ioseph generationis a Dauid quidem, sed per Nathan decurrere ostendit, id est per alium ordinem generis Dauid. Vterque enim*

Taking note of the obvious physical impossibility that a man can have two lineages (*cum manifestum sit Ioseph ex unius ordinis generatione descendere*), Chromatius then assures his readers that the gospels can say nothing that is contradictory or opposed to each other, offering a succinct statement of the premise that seems to lie behind the greater part of textual variation resulting in the harmonisation of synoptic gospel accounts.[82] Having stated the problem, Chromatius then enumerates the three common solutions: first, that there was a levirate marriage among Joseph's immediate ancestors; second, that while the Matthaean genealogy records the generations of Joseph, the Lukan genealogy records the generations of Mary; and, third, that Matthew offers a royal line through Solomon and Luke a priestly line through Nathan, lines which had been joined through intermarriage between the tribes of Judah and Levi.

Chromatius explains the levirate interpretation according to the scenario described by Julius Africanus and Fortunatianus, his predecessor as bishop of Aquileia, in assuming that Jacob fathered Heli's son rather than the alternate scenario, described by Ambrosiaster, that Heli fathered Jacob's son, observing that 'many claim that Joseph was fathered by Jacob, according to Saint Matthew, but by Luke counted as son of Heli according to the reckoning of the law'.[83] Chromatius then cites the custom of levirate marriage:

> if anyone who takes a wife dies without children, his own brother is to take his wife, so that he might raise the child of the deceased. In this way, the child that is born from him is called by the name of the deceased.[84]

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et Nathan et Salomon filii sunt Dauid. Duo ergo ordines sunt generationis Dauid : unus qui per Salomonem regem descendit, alius qui per Nathan. Tract. Matt 1.6 (CCSL 9A.197), translations mine.

[82] *quia dubium non est euangelistas uel contraria uel in aliquo sibi repugnantia <non> dicere quorum sensus indifferenti ratione utique concordat. Tract. Matt* 1.6 (CCSL 9A.197).

[83] *Plures namque asserunt hunc Ioseph secundum sancti Mathaei relationem de Iacob quidem progenitum, sed a Luca iuxta legis rationem Heli filium deputari. Tract. Matt* 1.6 (CCSL 9A.198).

[84] *si quis accepta uxore sine filiis moreretur, frater ipsius acciperet uxorem eius, ut suscitaret semen defuncti, ita ut quod ex eo nasceretur in defuncti nomine uocaretur. Tract. Matt* 1.6 (CCSL 9A.198).

Chromatius concludes that 'for this reason the same Joseph is considered the son of two fathers: Jacob according to the flesh as recorded by Matthew, Heli according to the law as recorded by Luke'.[85] Unlike Fortunatianus, Chromatius does not favour the levirate interpretation of the genealogies.[86] Nor does he take notice of the problem pointed out by Ambrosiaster, that there can still be just a single legitimate father under the levirate interpretation.

But Chromatius also knows the interpretation that the Matthaean and Lukan genealogies belong respectively to Joseph and Mary, observing that 'as far as this question [of the genealogies], others have believed [*crediderunt*] that Matthew's line of generations records how Joseph was born; while Luke's line describes the descent of Saint Mary the virgin'.[87] Chromatius observes that, since both genealogies are attributed to Joseph in the text, this interpretation requires that Mary's genealogy be transferred to Joseph's name, as he observes: 'since the woman is part of the man according to the relation of Genesis and the man is called head of the woman according to the apostle. Therefore, from Luke the family of Mary is said to be transferred to Joseph'.[88] The testimony of Chromatius suggests then that this view that Luke gave Mary's genealogy was still known in the latter fourth century, but had been pre-empted in favour of a view that assigned both genealogies to Joseph as the male head. In describing this interpretation, Chromatius shifts momentarily from the present tense to the perfect *crediderunt*, perhaps indicating that this interpretation was no longer widely favoured.

Finally, Chromatius is aware of a third interpretation, referred to by Hilary (*Comm. Matt.* 1.1) and Ambrose (*Exp. Luc.* 3.13), according to which

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[85] *Ob quam causam idem Ioseph duorum patrum filius deputatur : Iacob secundum carnem ut Mathaeus refert, Heli secundum legem ut Lucas scribit. Tract. Matt* 1.6 (CCSL 9A.198).

[86] It is clear that Chromatius relies on Fortunatianus' *Commentary on the Gospels* in other matters. See H.A.G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: OUP, 2016), p. 24.

[87] *Alii quaestionem hanc hactenus intellegendam crediderunt quod de hoc ordine generationis quem Mathaeus enumerat proprie Ioseph natus sit ; de illo autem ordine quem Lucas scribit sancta Maria uirgo descendat. Tract. Matt* 1.6 (CCSL 9A.198).

[88] *quia femina portio uiri est iuxta relationem Genesis et caput mulieris iuxta apostolum uir dicitur. Ideo a Luca generatio Mariae in Ioseph translata asseritur. Tract. Matt* 1.6 (CCSL 9A.198).

Matthew traces a royal descent (*quem Mathaeus enumerat genus regale descendere*) and Luke a priestly descent (*quem Lucas decurrit, permixtionem generis sacerdotalis ostendi*), mentioning in support of this view the tradition that Elizabeth, of Levi, and Mary, of Judah, were kinswomen (Luke 1:36), which he observes 'is not possible except from the mixture of families by marriage'.[89] This latter interpretation is preferred by Chromatius, who concludes, 'it is indeed fitting … that the very same Mary, who was worthy to become mother of the Lord according to the flesh also was born of both a royal and priestly family'.[90]

Chromatius' survey is remarkable for its balance in relating the various interpretations. Chromatius systematically reviews each of three major interpretations before settling on the latter as his preferred position. Yet by settling comfortably on a single preferred interpretation, Chromatius does not offer us a promising background for Bezae's Lukan genealogy.

John Chrysostom

Judging from the distribution of citations of Matthew 1:1–18 and Luke 3:23–38 between Latin and Greek writers of the fourth century, there seems not to have been the same intensity of interest in reconciling the genealogies in the East as in the West in the period following Eusebius.[91] Nevertheless, the problem is mentioned by John Chrysostom in his *Homilies on Matthew*, composed between 386 and 397 CE.[92] In the first chapter of the *Homilies*, Chrysostom notes the large number of issues raised by the genealogies, as he remarks: 'See … at once in the beginning of his [Matthew's] Gospel, how many difficulties might be raised one after the other'.[93] Addressing the differences specifically between Matthew and Luke, Chrysostom asks, 'why has Luke made mention of other names, and not only not all of them the same, but also many more of them, while Matthew has both

[89] *non fuisset nisi de permixti generis societate. Tract. Matt* 1.6 (CCSL 9A.198–199).

[90] *conueniens erat … ut eadem Maria, quae mater Domini secundum carnem esse meruit, et ex regali genere et ex sacerdotali origine nasceretur. Tract. Matt* 1.6 (CCSL 9A.199).

[91] According to searches of the Biblindex database at http://www.biblindex.info/, which is still incomplete for the fourth century.

[92] C. Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity.* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 2006), p. 783.

[93] Ὅρα γοῦν εὐθέως ἐν προοιμίοις τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου αὐτοῦ, πόσα ἄν τις ἐπαπορήσειε. *Hom. Matt.* 1.14 (*PG* 57.21; NPNF[1] 10:6).

fewer and different, though he too has ended with Joseph, with whom Luke likewise concluded?'[94] While Chrysostom does not get around to answering the question, he is convinced that the genealogies do not oppose one another, assuring his listeners that 'we will establish the harmony between them' (Τὴν δὲ συμφωνίαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης παραστήσομεν) and that 'they are not opposed to each other' (οὐ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἔστησαν).[95] But Chrysostom moves on without proposing or advocating a specific solution. It is clear though that he considers both genealogies to belong to Joseph, when he wonders aloud why the evangelists have provided no Marian genealogy, who is nevertheless Jesus' only physical ancestor according to the gospels.[96]

So Chrysostom shares the same fundamental assumption that we find in Western writers, namely, that both genealogies belong to Joseph. As a result, he conceptualises the problem as one of reconciling two parallel accounts. Unfortunately, Chrysostom's remarks are somewhat constrained by his homiletical genre. He is less free to examine in depth issues that are not of direct pastoral relevance to his listeners. Still Chrysostom's assurance that the texts stood in harmony in their present form does not encourage us to look to his homilies for a potential context for Bezae's Lukan genealogy.

Jerome

In his *Commentary on Matthew* (398 CE), Jerome briefly alludes to the remarks of Julius Africanus on the discrepancies between the genealogies, criticising Africanus for referring to them as disagreements between the evangelists (*dissonantiae euangelistarum*):[97]

> [t]he venerable Julius presents this place to us as a disagreement between the evangelists, because Matthew the evangelist calls Joseph son of Jacob, but Luke calls him son of Heli, not understanding the tradition of

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[94] Καὶ τίνος ἕνεκεν ὁ μὲν Λουκᾶς ἑτέρων ἐμνημόνευσεν ὀνομάτων, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐ τῶν αὐτῶν ἁπάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῷ πλειόνων· ὁ δὲ Ματθαῖος, καὶ ἐλαττόνων, καὶ ἑτέρων, καίτοιγε εἰς τὸν Ἰωσὴφ καὶ αὐτὸς τελευτήσας, εἰς ὅν καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς κατέληξεν. *Hom. Matt.* 1.14 (*PG* 57.21; NPNF[1] 10:7), translation updated to current English. See also *PG* 57.40.

[95] *Hom. Matt.* 1.8 (*PG* 57.17, 18; NPNF[1] 10:4).

[96] See *Hom. Matt.* 1.14; 2.8.

[97] Gryson, *Répertoire*, 540.

> the scriptures that one is father according to nature and the other according to the law.[98]

It is surprising that Jerome takes Africanus to task for simply noticing the obvious differences between the genealogies. According to Jerome's suggestion, this reflects a failure to recognise the genealogies as complementary accounts in spite of discrepancies between the names. Somewhat inconsistently, Jerome invokes Africanus' own suggestion against him, namely, that a levirate marriage had taken place between Joseph's immediate forbears, though without Africanus' own cautious hesitation:

> For we know this through Moses who was given this command by God, that, if a brother or close relative dies without children, the other takes his wife to raise a child for the brother or close relative.[99]

But is the levirate interpretation really as obvious as Jerome wants to suppose? Jerome's own writings suggest otherwise, for just fifteen years earlier he himself had offered a different interpretation in *Against Helvidius*, where he explains why Mary conceived after she was betrothed:

> But if anyone feels a doubt as to why the Virgin conceived after she was betrothed rather than when she had no one betrothed to her … let me explain that there were three reasons. First, that by the genealogy of Joseph, whose kinswoman Mary was, Mary's origin might also be shown …[100]

This first explanation given by Jerome is close to the earlier opinion, assumed by Justin, Irenaeus and apparently Celsus that one of the genealogies depicted Mary's lineage under Joseph's name (*per genealogiam Ioseph*), while in fact belonging to Mary. But the fact remains that Jerome offers two differ-

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[98] *Hunc locum obicit nobis Iulianus Augustus dissonantiae euangelistarum, cur euangelista Matheus Ioseph filium dixerit lacob, et Lucas filium eum appellauerit Heli. In Matheum* 1,16, ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen (CCSL 77/1.9), translations mine.

[99] *In Matheum* 1,16 (CCSL 77/1.9).

[100] *Si cui autem scrupulus commouetur, quare desponsata, et non putius sine sponso, siue (ut Scriptura appellat) marito, uirgo conceperit, sciat triplicem fuisse rationem. Primo, ut per genealogiam Ioseph, cuius Maria cognata erat, origo quoque Mariae monstraretur. Helv.* 4 (*PL* 23.187).

ent interpretations at different times, suggesting that it is not at all obvious how the two accounts are in harmony.

It is all the more remarkable, then, that Jerome's criticism of Africanus is not the only time he takes a commentator to task for merely noting the disagreements between the genealogies. In his *Commentary on Titus* 3:9, written in 386, Jerome excoriates a Jewish-Christian at Rome who had pointed out precisely the same differences as the 'venerable' Africanus:[101]

> I have heard one of the Jews in Rome, who pretended to believe in Christ, raise a question concerning the genealogies of our Lord Jesus Christ which are written in Matthew and Luke, that plainly from Solomon to Joseph they agree with themselves neither in number nor in conformity of their names, who, when he had corrupted the hearts of the simple, as though he were indicting somebody from the inner sanctuary and the mercy seat, in order that he might appear to be giving explanations.[102]

Jerome indicts this unnamed commentator on primarily two accounts: first, for spreading a teaching that there are disagreements between the genealogies, which in Jerome's view is corrupting ordinary Christians by 'raising a question' (*facere quaestionem*) against what he by now evidently regards as the correct, even 'orthodox', interpretation and, second, for what Jerome implies is a Judaising influence delivered 'from the inner sanctuary and mercy seat' (*ex adytis et oraculo*). So Jerome apparently takes issue in general with questions raised about the consistency of the genealogies, whether from Africanus, in which case it is a fault of understanding, or from an unidentified Jewish Christian, in which case it is tantamount to an insincere profession of faith. But why is Jerome so eager to dismiss the mere notice of disagreement in the genealogies?

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[101] Gryson, *Répertoire*, 547. T. Zahn, *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, 7 July 1899, as cited by A.E. Burn, 'The Ambrosiaster and Isaac the converted Jew', *Expositor* 2 (1899) 368–375 at p. 368 n. 3, suggested that Ambrosiaster is the target of Jerome's vitriol in this passage. See also G. Morin, 'L'Ambrosiaster et le juif converti Isaac', *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse* 4 (1899) 97–121, who identified Ambrosiaster with a certain Isaac of Rome, though Morin later retracted this identification. See G. Morin, 'Hilarius l'Ambrosiaster', *Revue Bénédictine* 20 (1903), 113–124 and G. Morin, 'Qui est l'Ambrosiaster?' *Revue Bénédictine* 31 (1914–1919) 1–34.

[102] *Comm. Tit.* 3,9, ed. F. Bucchi (CCSL 77C.66).

If we listen to Jerome's objections, we hear concerns about 'corrupting the simple', whom we might understand to be those in the church at large without the interest or ability to distinguish true and false interpretations of the genealogies. But we also hear concerns about the question itself, which according to Jerome amounts at best to ignorance and at worst to a Judaising heresy. In a manner similar to Eusebius, who wishes to assure the authorities that there is no dissension in the ranks of the faithful, and Ambrose, who betrays a hint of annoyance at troublesome questioners, Jerome would like to suggest that the agreement of the genealogies as two distinct accounts of Joseph's lineage is a matter beyond question, akin to accepted dogma. The mere suggestion that the genealogies might stand in disharmony is a challenge to orthodox doctrine and hence one's approach to the genealogies is practically a test of orthodoxy. So Jerome apparently believes that the levirate interpretation has settled the question of disagreement between the two genealogies. Equipped with such an interpretation, where questions are dismissed before they are raised, there is of course little need to alter the texts of the genealogies themselves. So Jerome does not appear to offer a context for Bezae's Lukan genealogy. Yet neither does Jerome's confident opinion discourage Augustine from probing the question further.

Augustine

Commenting on the genealogies in his *De consensu evangelistarum* written in 403 or 404 CE, Augustine's approach reflects that of his times, assuming that both genealogies belong to Joseph.[103] Augustine frames the problem in terms of discrepancies between the lists of names, observing that '[s]ome might be perplexed by the fact that Matthew enumerates one series of ancestors, descending through David to Joseph, while Luke specifies a different succession, tracing the ancestry from Joseph backwards through David'.[104] But Augustine reframes the solution in terms of adoption rather than levirate marriage, explaining that Joseph had 'two fathers, one blood father by whom he was born and another adoptive father by whom he was adopted'.[105] It is unclear whether this recasting of the levirate interpretation

[103] Gryson, *Répertoire*, 217.

[104] *Quos autem mouet, quod alios progeneratores Mattheus enumerat descendens a Dauid usque ad Ioseph, alios autem Lucas ascendens a Ioseph usque ad Dauid. Cons.* 2.3.5, ed. F. Weihrich (CSEL 43.84; ACCS Matt 1–13, p. 4).

[105] *duos patres habere potuisse Ioseph, unum a quo genitus, alterum a quo fuerit adoptatus.*

as a form of adoption is spontaneous or deliberate: it may have been to accommodate an audience for whom there was no parallel to the Jewish practice of levirate marriage. Thus, by way of illustration, Augustine selects an institution that he believes his readers will better grasp. Of course, we cannot forget the purpose of Augustine's work, namely, to defend the fourfold gospel against pagan detractors, which places his explanation squarely in an apologetic context.[106] Certainly, it is not to avoid discussion of Jewish customs *per se*, because Augustine goes on to explain the genealogies in terms of 'the custom of adoption even among that people of God', offering examples of Moses' adoption by Pharaoh's daughter and Jacob's adoption of his two grandsons by Joseph (Exodus 2:10; Genesis 48:5). But Augustine is silent on further speculation regarding which of Joseph's two fathers is the adoptive father or the circumstances which prompted the adoption, since it is no longer necessary for the birth father to have died for the adoption to have occurred.

A more intriguing reference to the genealogies occurs in an overtly heresiological context in Augustine's *Contra Faustum*, against the Manichaean bishop, Faustus of Milevis, dating from 400 to 402 CE.[107] In this work, Augustine's Faustus identifies the genealogies as the primary obstacle preventing him from accepting the 'catholic' view of the incarnation. In this, Faustus is made to observe that:

> the discrepancy in the genealogies of Luke and Matthew made me stumble, as I knew not which to follow … This is my reason for not believing in the birth of Christ. Remove this difficulty, if you can, by harmonising the accounts, and I am ready to yield.[108]

Cons. 2.3.5 (CSEL 43.84; ACCS Matt 1–13, p. 4).

[106] See, for example, H. Six-Means, *Augustine and Catholic Christianization: The Catholicization of Roman Africa, 391–408*, (Patristic Studies 10; New York: Lang, 2011), p. 122.

[107] Gryson, *Répertoire*, p. 218.

[108] *offensus duorum maxime euangelistarum dissensione, qui genealogian eius scribunt, Lucae et Matthaei, haesi incertus, quemnam potissimum sequerer. … haec ergo ratio est, qua ego non accipio Christum natum. tu uero, si tantus es, ut hanc mihi adimas offensionem, effice, ut inter se ipsi conueniant, et utcumque succumbam*. *Faust.* 3.1, ed. J. Zycha (CSEL 25/1.261–262; NPNF[1] 4:159).

Whether or not Faustus actually uttered these words, they do confirm that a perception existed within the church consistent with what we have already seen regarding the apologetic concerns raised by the genealogies, that if only discrepancies between the genealogies were harmonised, it might be possible to refute the Manichaeans. According to Augustine, Faustus not only prescribes what to do—'remove this difficulty'—but also how to accomplish it, namely, 'by harmonising the accounts'. We find this very suggestion implemented in Bezae's text. Certainly Bezae's Lukan genealogy is consistent with the context implied in *Contra Faustum* in which it was apparently believed that only a harmonised genealogy could supply an adequate response to Manichaeism. So anti-Manichaean apologetic of the kind implied in Augustine's *Contra Faustum* offers us another potential context for Bezae's Lukan genealogy.

Towards a Context for Textual Change in Bezae's Lukan Genealogy

Our review of the literature allows us to make two observations. First, the relationship between the respective genealogies of Matthew and Luke seems not to have been an apologetic concern until the early third century, when we find an apparent shift in assumptions regarding the assignment of the genealogies: in the earlier period, it was more widely held that Matthew gave the genealogy of Joseph and Luke that of Mary, while later it was assumed that both genealogies purported to record the lineage of Joseph. Second, this shift in assumptions led, predictably, to the view, especially from the mid-fourth century onward, that the two genealogies stood in conflict and demanded an apologetic explanation. It is thus from this latter context that much of our surviving ancient commentary on the genealogical passages of Matthew or Luke derives and within which harmonisation of the two competing lines of Joseph features as a consistent theme, resolved most frequently by appeal to the Jewish practice of levirate marriage (or adoption). As far as we can tell, the end of the fourth century presents conditions particularly favourable to the harmonisation of the genealogies, when interest in reconciling the genealogies as parallel accounts of Joseph's lineage reached a peak in the Latin church. If we assume that the variant Lukan genealogy was introduced into Bezae's text in order to reconcile the Lukan and Matthaean accounts of the genealogy of Jesus, we are more likely to find relevant contexts in the later period, that is, in the latter fourth century, than in the second century before serious questions were raised about the consistency of the genealogies.

Bezae's Dependence on Aphrahat

Dating from the beginning of our period of interest around 345 CE, Aphrahat's *Demonstration* 23 exhibits no real concern with the divergent genealogies. As we have seen, Aphrahat's concern has more to do with the number of names, that is, sixty-three names, as a symbol of fulfillment, relating this number to the years of the exile and Daniel's prophecy of sixty-two and seven weeks until the Christ is born and put to death. Yet while apparently not itself designed to harmonise the genealogies, Aphrahat's list would doubtless have proved of interest in contexts in which the problem of harmonising the genealogies was a pre-eminent concern.[109] It would therefore be interesting to know whether Bezae's tradition took such an interest in Aphrahat's list of names and perhaps even appropriated this tradition into its text of Luke.[110] Three considerations suggest that Bezae may depend for its Lukan genealogy on a common tradition with Aphrahat's list of names, summarised as follows:

1. There is a common design in the arrangement of names, with thirty names from Matthew and the LXX, fourteen names from both Matthew and Luke (or the LXX), and nineteen names extending to Adam from Luke (or the LXX). The result combines the royal ge-

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[109] Aphrahat was not as well known in the Greek and Latin churches as his slightly younger contemporary Ephrem. For example, while Ephrem appears in Jerome's *De uiris illustribus* 115, Aphrahat appears only in Gennadius' continuation of Jerome's work, where he is misidentified with Jacob of Nisibis (Gennadius, *Vir. ill.* 1).

[110] We have more evidence that Ephrem was known in Greek and Latin translations and hence accessible to Latin writers than Aphrahat. See D. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, 'Éphrem (les versions). I. Éphrem grec; II. Éphrem latin', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1960), cols. 800–819, who includes a section on Latin translations of Ephrem, noting that these translations are distinguished by their antiquity, some dating from the patristic period: 'L'intérêt de l'Éphrem latin tient à son ancienneté. Un certain nombre de pièces ont été traduites sur le grec dès la période patristique' (col. 815). Though it is unclear how much this can tell us about Aphrahat's tradition, it does indicate that Syriac texts were translated into Latin in the period in question. But see the more skeptical opinion of D. Taylor, 'St. Ephraim's Influence on the Greeks', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 1 (1998), downloaded from http://www.bethmardutho.org/index.php/hugoye/volume-index/96.html on 25 October 2017.

nealogy of Matthew with the pre-Abrahamic genealogy of Luke extending to Adam, a design found only in Bezae and Aphrahat.

2. There is the same choice and sequence of sixty-three names, excluding Bezae's possibly erroneous duplication of Jehoiakim's name.[111] This choice of names is found only in Bezae's Lukan genealogy and Aphrahat's *Demonstration* 23, our only known sources with sixty-three names in the genealogy from Adam to Christ (again excluding Bezae's duplication of Jehoiakim). Of particular interest are Bezae's three distinctive agreements with Aphrahat's list, including:
    a. Insertion of the three kings αμασιου, ιωας and οχοζιου between ιωραμ and οζεια, a reading found only in Bezae and Aphrahat.[112]
    b. Insertion of ιωακειμ after ιωσεια, a reading found only in Bezae and Aphrahat.[113]
    c. Omission of the name καιναμ between αρφαξαδ and σαλα, a reading found only in Bezae, Aphrahat and 𝔓75 vid.[114]
3. There is the arrangement of names in six groups of ten around a central triad, with a prominent figure closing each group, a feature which Bezae apparently preserves in its folio divisions between 195v/196v and 196v/197r.

These distinctive parallels suggest that Bezae and Aphrahat share at least a common tradition for the design of their respective lists, the choice and arrangement of names and the internal structure of the list in the grouping of names around prominent figures. Such parallels appear simply too coincidental to have arisen entirely independently, at least without the help of a shared tradition.

Our survey of the literature suggests the latter part of the fourth century as the period of greatest pressure on the two genealogical texts towards

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[111] The names are presented in reverse order in Bezae to accommodate the design of the Lukan genealogy.

[112] For this reading, we use Matthew as the base text.

[113] For this reading, we use Matthew as the base text.

[114] According to IGNTP, *The Gospel According to St. Luke,* part 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 75. For this reading, we use Luke as the base text.

mutual conformity and hence a favourable timeframe for the development of Bezae's reading. This would of course place the reading chronologically after Aphrahat and lead us in the direction of Bezae's dependence on Aphrahat or his tradition. As we have seen, there is little to suggest that Aphrahat himself depends on Bezae or any other gospel text. On the other hand, we have encountered some evidence that the text form we find in Bezae's Lukan genealogy is fairly recent, perhaps even contemporary with the manuscript's production, suggesting that the direction of dependence points from Aphrahat to Bezae. For example, the doubling of Jehoiakim's name suggests a misapprehension of the numerological structure of the list in Aphrahat's tradition. It was possibly introduced to secure page divisions in alignment with the decades of the list, which follow Bezae's format of thirty-three lines per page and hence are tied to Bezae's production. In addition, the large gap following Bezae's Lukan genealogy suggests that the genealogy itself was added after the surrounding text into blank space intended to accommodate it. Meanwhile, the inconsistent arrangement of the columns on facing pages (from ιωσηφ through ιωαθαν) versus on the same page (from οζεια through θεου) suggests that there was some miscalculation in the space required and hence that the genealogy may have been added directly from another source into Bezae's text. These features suggest that the genealogy was introduced directly into Bezae during production. Finally, Bezae's Lukan genealogy is singular within the Greek and versional traditions. As a singular reading, it is more likely to have occurred close to the manuscript's production, as Michael W. Holmes observes, 'most of the singular Bezan readings will likely derive from the scribe of the manuscript itself'.[115] While it is still possible that the above features are merely coincidental or that Aphrahat obtained his list of names from a manuscript earlier in Bezae's bilingual tradition, the easier solution is that Bezae's apparently late text form depends on Aphrahat's list of names, whether directly obtained from a copy of Aphrahat's *Demonstrations* or from a common tradition.

[115] M.W. Holmes, 'Codex Bezae as a Recension of the Gospels' in *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June, 1994*, ed. D.C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux, (NTTS 2; Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 125.

Motives and Contexts for Bezae's Lukan Genealogy

Assuming, then, that Bezae's text depends in some way on Aphrahat's tradition, it remains for us to evaluate possible motives for the introduction of Bezae's Lukan genealogy in the harmonised form in which we have received it and to consider the kinds of settings within which such motives would have been operative. Of course, harmonisation is a well-known feature of Bezae's tradition, as Parker observes: 'We at once find that a substantial number of the readings in D are due to harmonisation … Harmonisation thus seems to account for a high proportion of the distinctive readings of Codex Bezae'.[116] This leads him to suggest that, for the Greek column, '[t]he main influence was of harmonisation to Gospel parallels'.[117] In summarising the principal features of Bezae's text form, Parker observes:

> the nature of D is determined by a number of characteristics. A tendency to recast the text in a more vernacular mould; harmonisation in the Gospels, and the influence of the context (especially the close context) everywhere; the introduction of material from other sources; interaction between the columns; and, explaining how all this came about—a freedom to transmit the text loosely.[118]

In fact, most of the characteristics noted by Parker produce a more harmonised result and are distinctly applicable to Bezae's variant genealogy. Of course, such harmonising characteristics are merely the result of a larger process of change with a variety of motives. Our examination of the sources suggests a number of specific concerns that could serve as potential motives for deliberate harmonisation of the Lukan genealogy. These concerns divide into at least four categories, which we can arrange by context. The first three categories pertain for the most part to concerns about harm arising to the faith of ill-informed parties who encounter the conflicting names of the genealogies without the benefit of proper interpretation, whether inside or outside the church:

1. Motives stemming from concerns about confusion within the church, such as the physical impossibility of Joseph having two fathers, men-

[116] Parker, *Living Text*, pp. 41, 42.
[117] Parker, *Codex Bezae*, p. 192.
[118] Parker, *Codex Bezae*, p. 258.

tioned by Chromatius (*Tract. Matt* 1.6) or the sheer number of difficulties raised by the genealogies, mentioned by Chrysostom (*Hom. Matt.* 1.14).

2. Motives arising from concerns about dissension (or the appearance of dissension) within the church, evident in Eusebius' attempt to minimise the impression of conflict within the church (*H. E.* 1.7), Ambrose's censure of troublesome parties for raising questions about the genealogies (*Exp. Luc* 3.12) and Jerome's attack on an alleged Judaiser (*Comm. Tit.* 3,9).
3. Motives arising from concerns about defending the catholic faith to outsiders, evident in Augustine's attempt to resolve perplexities stemming from apparently conflicting genealogies in his larger effort to harmonise the gospel accounts (*Cons.* 2.3.5) and Faustus' alleged challenge, noted by Augustine, that if only the genealogies were harmonised, he would consider yielding to catholic teaching on the incarnation (*Faust.* 3.1).

Of these three categories, the first is located safely within the fold of the church and hence possible to address with appropriate teaching. But the latter two categories, lying progressively beyond the sphere of church influence, are less easily managed, given that dissenters and outsiders are not so susceptible to the corrective influence of ecclesiastically-sanctioned interpretation. In such contexts, we would expect some pressure to control interpretation in other ways, possibly by means of alterations to the text itself as a means to avert any possibility of misunderstanding.

To the above three categories, which in general hold to the *status quo* of the levirate interpretation, we must add a fourth category with the concerns raised by Ambrosiaster, which are directed neither towards outsiders nor the church at large, but rather (it seems) to other well-informed interpreters and overseers within the church. We find the motive embedded in Ambrosiaster's question, 'Were two different fathers incompetently recorded or is Joseph's true father simply unknown?'[119] While the question implies that the evangelists themselves might be at a loss, for Ambrosiaster what is evidently at stake is the competence of *interpreters* in naming the correct lineage of Joseph. We therefore add a fourth motive to our catalogue of concerns cited in the literature:

[119] *Quaest.* 56 (CSEL 50.101).

4. Motives stemming from concerns about the competence of interpreters and overseers in conveying the appropriate interpretation of the genealogies to the wider body of the church.

Ambrosiaster's argumentation is technical in nature and thus likely to be directed at those who control interpretations and texts, such as the scribes and correctors of texts and their overseers. By relegating the Lukan genealogy to second place as a lineage of Jesus, the concerns raised by Ambrosiaster's interpretation are certainly representative of a prime potential context for the replacement of the surrogate portion of the Lukan genealogy with Matthaean material, while preserving the route to Adam as a useful hedge against certain heresies, precisely the approach we find in Bezae. For interpreters with rank within the church, the leverage the Lukan genealogy provided against a heretic (Photinus) was a redeeming feature: this may have saved the Lukan genealogy in Bezae from its fate, for example, in Codex Washingtonianus (GA 032), where the Lukan genealogy is omitted altogether. As such, the significance of Ambrosiaster's context or other contexts that may have adopted his views is hard to overstate as a potential incubator of the variation we find in Bezae's Lukan genealogy.

A Late Fourth-Century Context for Bezae's Lukan Genealogy

Compared to the second century where we find little hint of a problem with the genealogies, even in expected sources such as Tatian and Celsus, the fourth century offers several compelling potential motives and contexts for the rise of Bezae's singular variant Lukan genealogy. This is a timeframe when we can envisage singular readings, such as the Lukan genealogy, entering Bezae's tradition during its production.

The question arises then as to which of these contexts we have found has the strongest claim to provide the background for Codex Bezae. Is it that of Ambrose and Jerome, focussed on concerns about dissenters within the church? Or that of Augustine, focussed on concerns about objectors outside the church? Or that of Ambrosiaster, focussed on concerns about the competence of interpreters within the church? For a number of reasons, Ambrosiaster's context offers the best situation:

1. He offers a reason why Luke's genealogy *in particular* might be regarded as troublesome under the levirate interpretation in comparison to Matthew and hence potentially accommodated to Matthew's names rather than the reverse.

2. He offers a reason why the specific list of forty names leading to Heli under Nathan might be dropped in favour of Matthew's names leading to Jacob under Solomon, *besides the obvious fact that they disagree*.
3. He offers a reason why the remaining names, especially from Terah ascending to Adam, might still be retained as a defence against certain heresies. In sum, Ambrosiaster shows that the levirate interpretation is itself deficient as a resolution to the discrepant genealogies understood as parallel accounts of Joseph's lineage, simply because it does not avert the limitation that there can be only one rightful father in the genealogy. Therefore, only Ambrosiaster leads us to a point where interpretation fails as a strategy to reconcile the genealogies as accounts of Joseph's lineage and we are left with a genealogy having no legal relevance in tracing Jesus' ancestral line. At this point, one possible hedge against misinterpretation is adjusting the text itself.[120]
4. We find additional parallels between Bezae's Lukan genealogy and Ambrosiaster's *Questions*. Thus, in *Question* 85 (see Table 5 above), Ambrosiaster inquires 'When there were clearly seventeen generations from David to the Babylonian exile, why does the evangelist [Matthew] record only fourteen, passing over Ahaziah, son of Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat; Joash son of Ahaziah; and Amaziah son of Joash?'[121] It is certainly of interest then that we find the missing three kings mentioned by Ambrosiaster among the kings included in Bezae's Lukan genealogy. While a fourth king, Jehoiakim, is also included by Bezae but not mentioned by Ambrosiaster, it is still noteworthy that the absence of kings mentioned in the LXX from Matthew's genealogy was apparently troubling to some in Ambrosiaster's context, presumably among those to whom *Question* 85 was directed.
5. Finally, while Augustine's account is tantalising in showing that discrepancies between the genealogies were perceived as a real apologetic difficulty, the suggestion that actors within the church might rewrite the received text to accommodate what was considered the heretical position of outsiders seems at best problematic. So despite some promising features, Augustine's account does not offer an entirely satisfactory context.

[120] This is not to suggest that Ambrosiaster himself would necessarily have advocated such a solution.

[121] *Quaest.* 85 (CSEL 50.146).

While it would be rash to attribute the variant genealogy of a single manuscript directly to a known historical figure, especially an anonymous writer such as Ambrosiaster, who is known simply because a portion of his output has happened to survive, it seems not at all unreasonable to work from Ambrosiaster's context as representative of the kind of setting within which Bezae's Lukan genealogy might have arisen. In such a setting, we should expect to find interpreters who thought about the text in ways similar to Ambrosiaster or perhaps even had read his *Questions*.[122] The motive would have been then to pre-empt wrong interpretations based on levirate marriage and perhaps as a guide to produce other manuscripts with this interpretative safety feature. Therefore, we are able to suggest a context much like Ambrosiaster's as a plausible setting for the introduction of a list of names from a common tradition with Aphrahat into Bezae's Lukan genealogy.

Of course many questions remain as to how those who were evidently immersed in the Latin conversation on reconciling two genealogies which they believed to be in conflict might have come to appropriate materials preserved now only in Aphrahat, from a Syriac milieu within which we find not a word of any conflict concerning the genealogies. But the problem of Bezae's peculiar mix of Eastern and Western influences has been noticed since at least the eighteenth century. On the one hand, some, such as J.J. Wettstein, T.F. Middleton and J.R. Harris, have postulated Latin influence as a significant force in the shaping of Bezae's Greek text.[123] Others though, such as J.D. Michaelis, F.H. Chase and G. Zuntz, have emphasised apparent Syriac influences.[124] In our study, we have found that, while the materials find a place in the Syriac tradition, the context appears to have been thor-

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[122] On the reception of Ambrosiaster, see S. Lunn-Rockliffe, *Ambrosiaster's Political Theology* (Oxford: OUP, 2007), pp. 17–26.

[123] J.J. Wettstein, *Prolegomena ad Novi Testamenti Graeci editionem* (Amsterdam: Wetstein and Smith, 1730); T.F. Middleton, *The Doctrine of the Greek Article*, ed. H.J. Rose (Cambridge: Deighton, 1833); J. Rendel Harris, *Codex Bezae: A Study of the So-Called Western Text of the New Testament* (Cambridge: CUP, 1891).

[124] J.D. Michaelis, *Einleitung in die göttlichen Schriften des neuen Bundes*, 2 vols (Göttingen: Vandenhoek, 1788); F.H. Chase, *The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae* (London: Macmillan, 1893); G. Zuntz, 'On the Western Text of the Acts of the Apostles', in *Opuscula Selecta* (Manchester: Univ. Press, 1972), 189–215.

oughly aware of discussion within the Latin church. We might only infer then that both forces seem to have played a part in the Lukan genealogy. But exactly how they might have come together remains for now an open question.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it seems that few of Bezae's major variations are so clearly secondary as the Lukan genealogy, mainly, because the problem it solves is so obvious—at least after the third century when we encounter a shift in the perception of the genealogies from referring respectively to Joseph and Mary to providing alternative accounts of Joseph's genealogy. Although it is driven by other concerns, even Aphrahat's unified presentation of Lukan and Matthaean elements makes little sense in a second-century context that regarded the genealogies as the lineages of Joseph and Mary. While Bezae's reading is highly unlikely to represent the 'initial' text form, Parker's paradigm encourages us to approach the text on its own terms for the insight it provides into the history of early Christian communities possibly as late as the end of the fourth century, when apologetic concerns regarding the consistency of the genealogies reach a peak in the Latin church. This suggests that Bezae's appropriation of Aphrahat's tradition becomes more likely the later we are willing to date it. While we are surprised to find variations of such magnitude at this late date, the mere possibility appears to validate Parker's insight that we cannot afford to overlook any form of text when reconstructing not only an initial text but also the larger historical framework within which the text developed.

5. A Proposal For a Critical Edition of the Greek New Testament Lectionary.

Gregory S. Paulson

Introduction

For centuries, lectionaries were the texts that Christians used and were familiar with amidst the rhythms and rituals of ecclesial life. As Merrill Parvis states, 'We should see the lectionaries as reflecting the worship of the church. Lection by lection, manuscript by manuscript, they differ as the churches in which they were used differ in their practice of worship.'[1] Manuscripts catalogued as lectionaries in the *Kurzgefasste Liste* represent almost half of the known corpus of Greek New Testament manuscripts (2,398 out of approximately 5,675).[2] While it is generally acknowledged that lectionary manuscripts are a sorely underrepresented witness to the text of the New Testament, to date few scholars have systematically explored the potential of lectionaries to shine new light on the New Testament text and its transmission. Undertaking a critical edition of the New Testament based on lectionaries could thus yield significant results and provide a unique window into how the church throughout history understood and used scripture in public worship.

In this paper I will give a brief history of the use of lectionaries in critical editions and in scholarship to highlight the overall lack of lectionary use

[1] Merrill M. Parvis, 'The Nature and Tasks of New Testament Textual Criticism: An Appraisal', *Journal of Religion* 32.3 (1952), p. 173.

[2] The *total number* of lectionaries registered in the *Liste* should not be confused with the *highest number* recorded, which at the time of writing (March 2018) is L2476. The count of 2,398 total lectionaries is according to my own calculations of the INTF's electronic *Liste* at http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/liste.

in New Testament studies. Some recent contributions offer insights and fresh scientific investigations of lectionaries that provide useful building blocks for creating a critical edition.[3] I will offer a practical way forward for the creation of a critical lectionary edition by providing criteria for test passages and other methods that could help organise lectionary manuscripts into groups, explaining how this work might be carried out, and describing what an actual critical edition of the Greek New Testament lectionary might look like.

THE USE OF LECTIONARIES IN CRITICAL EDITIONS AND IN SCHOLARSHIP

With few exceptions, the use of lectionaries in critical editions of the Greek New Testament and in scholarship can basically be divided into three chronological periods.[4] In the first period, which covers the first printed Greek texts of the sixteenth century to Scholz's edition of the Gospels in 1830, we see an interest in including lectionaries in critical editions. While usage varies from edition to edition, more lectionaries were generally included in these editions than in the following period. The second period, from Lachmann (1842) to Merk (1933), showed little or no interest in lectionaries, with some exceptions. The editors of critical editions during this period largely maintained that the oldest Greek readings were found in the oldest manuscripts and therefore lectionaries were seen as unimportant for the earliest text. The third, current period began with Colwell in 1932 and displays a new interest in the use of lectionaries in Greek New Testaments

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[3] Many of these are also referenced in Samuel Gibson's contribution to this volume.

[4] The essay by Donald W. Riddle, 'The Use of Lectionaries in Critical Editions and Studies of the New Testament Text', in *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels*, ed. Ernest Cadman Colwell and Donald W. Riddle (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), 67–77, covers the most pertinent scholarly material relevant to the use of lectionaries for the first two periods. Carroll Osburn, 'The Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament', in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the* Status Quaestionis, ed. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael Holmes (2nd edn; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 93–113, covers the same period as Riddle and further discusses the Chicago project and the IGNTP. Unless otherwise stated, further references to Osburn's essay refer to the 2013 publication rather than the 1995 publication by the same title.

and in scholarship. Some of the works produced in this period offer a useful starting point for creating a critical edition based on lectionaries.

Use of Lectionaries in the First Period: Sixteenth Century to 1830

The Fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the occupation of Greece by the Ottoman Empire resulted in the dispersal of Greek language and culture to other parts of Europe.[5] This upheaval led to stagnation in the development of printing in Greece, while printing concomitantly increased in other parts of Europe. These events, along with the inherent difficulty of printing Greek type—particularly accents and breathing marks—meant that it was printers outside Greece who produced the first printed Greek New Testaments.[6] The first printed New Testament text in Greek was the Magnificat (Luke 1:46–56) and Benedictus (Luke 1:68–80) in a Greek-Latin incunabulum from Milan printed in 1481.[7] The *Poetae Christiani* (Venice: Aldine Press,

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[5] Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament with Remarks on its Revision upon Critical Principles* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1854), 1–2. On the relationship between Byzantium and Venice see Deno John Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), esp. pp. 13–40.

[6] Robert Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: OUP, 1900), esp. pp. 10–24.

[7] Evro Layton, *The Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy: Printers and Publishers for the Greek World.* (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, 1994), p. 355. Cf. British Library, 'Incunabula Short Title Catalogue', http://data.cerl.org/istc/ip01035000?format=text&lang=en; and *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum*, part VI: Italy (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1930), pp. 756–757. In some reports, the second edition of the 1481 *Psalterium*, published in 1486 with only the Greek, is incorrectly referred to as the first printed Greek New Testament text; this is stated as early as Johann Leonard Hug, *Einleitung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1826), 1:313; Samuel Davidson, *Treatise on Biblical Criticism*, v. 2: The New Testament (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1853), p. 106; and perpetuated by Tregelles, *Account*, 2 n. †. These reports also incorrectly cite the biblical text as beginning with Luke 1:42. An edition of this Psalter and Odes (Inc. Chig. IV.1923) can be seen at http://bav.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inc-chig-iv1923, with the text in question on ff. 134v–136v.

1504) contains what is probably the earliest printed lectionary text (John 1:1–6:36), evident by the existence of lectionary rubrics and incipits.[8] The first complete printed *Apostolos* was produced in 1525 and the first complete *Evangelion* was printed in 1539, both issued from Venice by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio (Stephan Sabien).[9] It was Venice and other European cities that primarily printed lectionaries for Greeks until the twentieth century, when Athens began printing them as well. It was not until 1936 that the Apostoliki Diakonia Press, the official publisher for the Greek Orthodox Church, was founded in Athens.[10]

John Mill's 1707 edition, Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ/NOVUM TESTAMENTUM, which 'commence[d] the age of manhood in the criticism of the Greek Testament', was a watershed in the history of printed editions for a number of reasons.[11] Mill's was the first to cite lectionaries in an apparatus, but since his text was basically a reprint of the *Textus Receptus* (Stephanus' third edition), lectionaries were not used to establish the text; rather, Mill encouraged his readers to discover the 'true reading' from his apparatus, insinuating that the *Textus Receptus* did not reflect the best text.[12] Mill was an expert at collecting material, which resulted in eight *Evangelia* and one *Apostolos* being included in the edition, something no-one had done before in a Greek New Testament.[13] Two important works that followed Mill, Richard Bentley's *Proposals* (1720) and Johann Albrecht Bengel's Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ/NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRAECUM (1734), used

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[8] Bruce M. Metzger, 'Greek Lectionaries and a Critical Edition of the Greek New Testament', in *Die Alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. Kurt Aland (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972), pp. 484–485 and 484 n. 8.

[9] Layton, *The Sixteenth-Century Greek Book in Italy*, pp. 140–141, 153.

[10] As Anderson describes, the l^{AD} was continually conformed to the Πτ until its publication. Paul Anderson, 'The Greek Orthodox Lectionary and the New Testament: History, Text, and Traditions', *Journal of the Orthodox Center for the Advancement of Biblical Studies* 5.1 (2012), 3, http://ocabs.org/journal/index.php/jocabs/article/viewFile/65/35.

[11] Tregelles, *Account*, p. 41.

[12] Osburn, 'Greek Lectionaries', p. 99; Robert F. Hull, *The Story of the New Testament Text: Movers, Materials, Motives, Methods, and Models* (Atlanta: SBL, 2010), p. 45.

[13] See Marvin R. Vincent, *A History of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), p. 67.

lectionaries to some extent, but they were more concerned with older witnesses, such as Codices Vaticanus and Alexandrinus.

Another influential scholar, Johann Jakob Wettstein, changed his theory of the text drastically during his career. Originally he believed that the oldest manuscripts were the most reliable, but then he developed the notion that all early Greek manuscripts were corrupted by interpolation from Latin manuscripts. Subsequently, he advocated that the critic 'must move several centuries beyond the oldest Greek manuscripts to more recent ones if a pure text is to be found'.[14] In his edition of 1751–2, he included 24 *Evangelia* and 4 *Apostoloi*, more than any previous scholar. He further collated 12 *Evangelia* and 2 *Apostoloi*.[15]

Johann Jakob Griesbach, who 'laid foundations for all subsequent work on the Greek text of the New Testament', also used a number of lectionaries in his work.[16] According to Riddle, Griesbach incorporated 12 *Evangelia* and 2 *Apostoloi*, plus others, in his work from 1774–1811.[17] After checking only his *Novum Testamentum Graece* of 1777, however, I discovered that he used more than this: 30 lectionaries altogether are found in this edition, 24 of which are from the collations of Wettstein.[18]

The first scholar who printed tables of synaxarion lessons in a critical edition was Christian Friedrich Matthaei. He preferred later Greek manuscripts in his edition, which is why he gave special attention to lectionaries.[19] Except for his volume of Revelation, the beginning of each volume of

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[14] Eldon Jay Epp, 'The Eclectic Method in New Testament Textual Criticism: Solution or Synopsis', in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism*, ed. Eldon Jay Epp and Gordon Fee, (SD 45; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 1993), p. 149.

[15] Metzger, 'Greek Lectionaries', p. 485.

[16] Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, (4th edn; New York: OUP, 2005), p. 165.

[17] Riddle, 'Use of Lectionaries', p. 69; also Osburn, 'Greek Lectionaries', p. 99.

[18] *Novum Testamentum Graece Textum ad Fidem Codicum Versionum et Patrum Emendavit et. Lectionis Varietatem*, ed. Johann Jacob Griesbach, vol. I Evangelia et Acta Apostolorum (Halle: Johann Jacob Curtis, 1777), pp. xxxi—xxxii.

[19] Gregory notes that in Matthaei's edition, 'The Greek text is of no great importance, because it is drawn chiefly from young and inferior manuscripts.' Caspar René Gregory, *Canon and Text of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1907), p. 451.

his twelve-volume *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (1782–8) provides a list of liturgical readings. In his second edition (vol. 2, 1804 and vol. 3, 1807), these lists are combined into two lists—Gospel and *Apostolos*. In his apparatus, he used 57 *Evangelia* and 20 *Apostoloi*, more than any previous scholar had used.[20]

Andreas Birch accompanied two other scholars, D.G. Moldenhawer and O.G. Tychsen, on expeditions under the patronage of Christian VII of Denmark to examine biblical manuscripts. The results of their investigations for the Gospels were arranged and published by Birch in Copenhagen (*Quatuor Evangelia Graece*, 1788),[21] with the text of Stephanus, 1550. In 1795, a fire destroyed the Royal Printing House along with materials from their first edition. Fragments of the remains of the New Testament were published by Birch: Acts and the Pauline Epistles appeared in 1798, Revelation in 1800 and the Gospels in 1801.[22] Birch used at least 5 *Evangelia* and 3 *Apostoloi*, substantially fewer than previous scholars.

The use of lectionaries in critical editions of this period reached its zenith under Johann Martin Augustin Scholz, a pupil of Johann Leonhard Hug.[23] Scholz recorded 178 *Evangelia* and 58 *Apostoloi* in the introduction to his edition of the Gospels of 1830 (second volume, 1836). It seems unlikely that Scholz used all 236 lectionaries in his apparatus. According to Riddle, Scholz used only 13 *Evangelia* and 14 *Apostoloi*,[24] but an examination of Scholz's edition reveals that at least 15 different *Evangelia* were used in just the first seven chapters of Matthew.[25]

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[20] Metzger, 'Greek Lectionaries', p. 485. For more on this edition, see page 160 below.

[21] Riddle, 'Use of Lectionaries', p. 69 (note the correct spelling of the edition above).

[22] Frederick Henry Ambrose Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (4th edn; London: George Bell and Sons, 1894), 2:220–21.

[23] A.E. Breen, *A General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture* (Rochester, NY: John P. Smith, 1908), pp. 657f.

[24] Riddle, 'Use of Lectionaries', p. 70.

[25] The lectionaries I found in the apparatus of Mt 1–7 are 10, 14, 17, 21, 24, 27, 32, 33, 34, 36, 44, 47, 48, 60, 63, and 70.

Use of Lectionaries in the Second Period: 1842 to 1933

For some time after Scholz, lectionaries played almost no role in Greek New Testaments and made only a few brief appearances. Karl Lachmann (vol. 1, 1842, vol. 2, 1850), 'who gave a fresh turn to the progress of criticism',[26] included no lectionaries (nor minuscules).[27] Constantin von Tischendorf (first edn 1841; eighth edn vol. 1, 1869, vol. 2, 1872), whose apparatus still stands the test of time today, used only a few lectionaries. F.J.A. Hort briefly discussed lectionaries in his introduction; he noted that while some may contain valuable readings, these witnesses were essentially out of the purview of *The New Testament in the Original Greek*.[28] Hermann von Soden's massive *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer Ältesten Erreichbaren Textgestalt* (1902, 1907, 1910, 1913) regrettably omitted lectionaries altogether, 'an inexplicable enigma',[29] since he was one of the few editors in this era to elevate the importance of Byzantine manuscripts in a critical edition. His omission of lectionaries is even more lamentable since his manuscript groupings continue to provide a starting point for text-critical work today. The twentieth-century hand editions of Alexander Souter (first edn, 1910), Heinrich Joseph Vogels (first edn, 1922) and George D. Kilpatrick (with Nestle, 1958, the second new edition of the BFBS) used no lectionaries. Eberhard Nestle (third edn, 1901—the first of his editions to cite manuscript evidence) and Augustin Merk (first edn, 1933) used a few in their editions. Thus, during this productive time period from the last half of the nineteenth century to the first third of the twentieth century, in which the landmark editions of Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort were produced, the *Textus Receptus* was overthrown and the early papyri rose to prominence, there seemed to be a declining interest in lectionaries in Western scholarship. This slump is certainly attributable to the sentiment that the oldest manuscripts contain the oldest readings. There are, however three notable exceptions to this trend: Scrivener, Gregory and the Antoniades edition.[30]

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[26] Kirsopp Lake, *The Text of the New Testament* (6th edn rev. by Silva New; London: Rivingtons, 1953), p. 66.

[27] Metzger and Ehrman, *Text of the New Testament*, p. 170.

[28] See F.J.A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction and Appendix* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1881), pp. 76–77 and 154.

[29] Riddle, 'Use of Lectionaries', p. 73.

[30] The Greek-Latin hand edition of José Maria Bover (first edn, 1943) included 29 lectionaries—such a large number of lectionaries is a rarity in the first half of the

In *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (first edn 1861, fourth edn 1894), F.H.A. Scrivener 'gave a full account of the Greek lectionary system, raising awareness of the need to incorporate these MSS in textual studies'.[31] In his lists, he provided the reading for each day of each week of the liturgical calendar, as well as 59 days for the civil calendar; he also informed the reader which manuscripts his data was based on.[32]

Caspar René Gregory is perhaps best known for producing the forerunner to Kurt Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste*. Gregory also wrote an extensive introduction to textual criticism, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* (three volumes: 1900, 1902, 1909), wherein he provided detailed information on lectionaries and recorded lectionaries up to L1559 (*Textkritik*, vol. 3).[33] His explanation of lectionaries expanded on information from his *Prolegomena* (three volumes: 1884, 1890, 1894) to Tischendorf's eighth edition. His tables of synaxarion and menologion readings (*Textkritik*, vol. 1) were the most-used in Western scholarship throughout the twentieth century.[34]

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twentieth century and seems to be the only edition (of the popular twentieth-century hand editions) to have included so many.

[31] Osburn, 'Greek Lectionaries', p. 100. Lists of synaxaria and menologia are found in each of the four editions of Scrivener's *Plain Introduction* (1861; 1874; 1883; 1894).

[32] Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, pp. 80ff.

[33] Gregory introduced the lowercase cursive *l* for 'Lesebuch' or 'lectionarium' in his *Die Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1908), p. 28.

[34] Riddle states that Gregory gave a 'full discussion of the nature of the lectionaries which for the first time gave to the scientific world at once a competent and sympathetic judgment of them' (Riddle, 'Use of Lectionaries', p. 72), but this is not entirely accurate since Scrivener's full account was actually earlier. Riddle also states that Gregory's discussion of lectionaries is found in his introduction to Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece ad Antiquissimos Testes Denuo Recensuit Apparatum Criticum Apposuit Constantinus Tischendorf*, 8th edn, vol. III *Prolegomena* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1884, 1890, 1894), but the fuller explanations to which Riddle refers are found in the *Prolegomena*'s three-volume German translation, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1900, 1902, 1909). Riddle's statement that 'Essentially the same materials are … restated in English in Gregory's *Canon and Text of the New Testament* (London, 1907)' is also inaccurate. This English work is an abridgment of *Textkritik*. Only in *Textkritik* are Gregory's lists of the synaxarion

Though they are still useful today, his tables remain 'somewhat provisory' and the task of greater precision lies ahead.[35]

Another significant Greek New Testament from this era is the Patriarchal Text of 1904 (reprinted in 1912 with corrections), also known as the Antoniades edition, or Patriarchate edition (Πτ).[36] At the end of the nineteenth century, in 1899, the Ecumenical Patriarch commissioned two metropolitans, Michael Kleovoulos of Sardis and Apostolos Christidoulou of Stravroupoli, as well a professor at the Theological School of Chalki, Vasileios Antoniades, to study manuscripts at Constantinople and Mount Athos and to prepare a text in the tradition of the Church of Constantinople. In the introduction of this New Testament, a total of 116 manuscripts, ranging from the ninth to sixteenth centuries, are listed as the sources for the edition.[37] This edition 'constitutes the most serious attempt at a critical elaboration of the text of the New Testament by the Orthodox Church', which is still in production today by various publishers (albeit with a few minor differences).[38] It is the only Greek New Testament that claims to have been produced largely based on lectionaries. However, its textual worth as a scientific endeavour is suspect.

In a study of the Πτ text, Rife comes to the conclusion that:

> In general … there are some lessons in which Πτ has the Stephanus text, some in which it agrees with the majority of lectionary MSS vari-

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and menologion provided.

[35] *Pinakes of the Byzantine Synaxarion & Menologion Anagnosmata*. Liturgical substrata of Biblical and Patristic anagnosmata as found in Evangelion, Apostolos, Prophetologion, Panegyrikon and other Byzantine codices, Part I: Evangelion Anagnosmata, by the Editors of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts Programme (Kampen: Brepols, 2009), 15.

[36] 'Πτ' is John Merle Rife's abbreviation for the Antoniades Edition in 'The Antoniades Greek New Testament', in *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels*, ed. Ernest Cadman Colwell and Donald W. Riddle (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), p. 63.

[37] Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη ἐγκρίσει τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας (Constantinople, 1904), v–vi.

[38] Ioannes Karavidopoulos, 'Textual Criticism in the Orthodox Church: Present State and Future Prospects', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 47.1–4 (2002), p. 392. The church uses large (24x33cm), middle (14x25cm) and small (12x17cm) lectionaries. These differ from each other and the Πτ (p. 395).

> ants, and some in which it widely departs from the MSS … It is a weak lectionary text somewhat marred, from the critical standpoint, by certain arbitrary methods employed in its formation'.[39]

Likewise, Osburn states that 'the arbitrariness of [Antoniades'] work and the lack of any critical apparatus render this edition of marginal value for scientific purposes'.[40] Metzger points out some of the problematic elements of the edition:

> From information contained in the Preface it appears that more than one reading was adopted for rather arbitrary reasons. Thus, although sometimes the editor preferred the non-Byzantine text (as in Matt. 12:25–27, 40; 13:13, 36; 17:22; Luke 21:38), in other cases the Byzantine reading was adopted (as Γαλιλαίας in Luke 4:44; παρέθεντο in Luke 12:48; and Acts 8:37, where the entire verse is included). Curiously enough, although the editor confesses that it did not appear possible on scholarly grounds to include the passage of the 'three witnesses' in I John 5:7–8, it was finally retained on the basis of the wishes of the Holy Synod. Enough has been said to indicate that, for scientific purposes, the Antoniades edition leaves much to be desired.[41]

It has thus been demonstrated on several occasions that the Antoniades edition does not satisfy the requirements for a critical edition.[42] The text does not always reflect manuscript tradition and is of little scientific use because of its inconsistent principles and lack of critical apparatus.

Riddle summarises the use and study of lectionaries to the beginning of the twentieth century saying, that with few exceptions, they

> give every impression of having been culled from second-hand reports. The fact that in no apparatus and in hardly a single published collation

[39] Rife, 'The Antoniades Greek New Testament', pp. 63 and 66.

[40] Osburn, 'Greek Lectionaries', p. 100.

[41] Metzger, 'Greek Lectionaries', p. 486.

[42] See also Wachtel who states that 'readings of the text attributed to Chrysostom usually were preferred to those of the Byzantine type'. Klaus Wachtel, 'Early Variants in the Byzantine Text of the Gospels', in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies*, ed. J.W. Childers and D.C. Parker (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), p. 35.

> are the parts of the lectionaries and the individual lections identified renders the data published almost worthless for scientific purposes.[43]

Eventually, twentieth-century biblical scholars began to notice not only the absence of lectionaries from Greek New Testaments, but also their potential value in elucidating how the biblical text has changed throughout centuries of usage.

Use of Lectionaries in the Third Period: 1932 to Present

The Chicago Lectionary Project began after Ernest Cadman Colwell's personal study of lectionaries in the Bodleian Library, British Museum, John Rylands Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France.[44] He concluded that 'the existence of such a distinct [lectionary] text is highly probable, if not certain'.[45] For this inaugural lectionary study, published in 1932, he made a collation of 26 lections in a number of lectionaries against Lloyd's *Textus Receptus* (Oxford 1894). He explained that the University of Chicago was carrying out research on lectionaries saying,

> Our plans look ultimately to the publication of a critical edition of the lectionary text … Our studies, as far as they have gone, indicate that the lectionary text has a valuable contribution to make to the early history as well as to the mediaeval history of the text of the New Testament.[46]

Colwell went on to outline the underlying assumptions that motivated the Chicago project:

> Thus we see that lectionaries agree with one another in lections taken from the Synaxarion and in lections taken from the Menology. They agree in lections where their text is practically identical with the Textus

[43] Riddle, 'Use of Lectionaries', p. 77. Scholarly studies have since given inadequate treatment of the topic of lectionaries, sometimes repeating incorrect information (cf. discussions of ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ and ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ in Riddle, 'Use of Lectionaries' esp. p. 75), but there have nonetheless been valuable contributions as well (for example Everett, Hall, Brightman, etc.). See Riddle, 'Use of Lectionaries', esp. pp. 76f.

[44] Ernest Cadman Colwell, 'Is There a Lectionary Text of the Gospels?' *HTR* 25.1 (1932), p. 73 n. 3.

[45] Colwell, 'Is There a Lectionary Text?', p. 73.

[46] Colwell, 'Is There a Lectionary Text?', p. 73 n. 2.

> Receptus, and they agree where their text differs widely from the Textus Receptus. Whether a small number of lectionaries are compared in a large number of lections or a large number of lectionaries are compared in a small number of lections, the result is the same: they agree with one another. This agreement is the more significant when it is noted that the support from non-lectionary MSS. varies in both kind and amount; and even where there is no other support, the agreement of lectionary with lectionary is as close as ever. Such agreement justifies speaking of the text of lectionaries as 'the lectionary text'.[47]

The Chicago project initially focused on *Evangelia* and, with the exception of Dwight E. Ericsson's 1961 dissertation that evinced a number of shortcomings, never made any headway in the study of *Apostoloi*.[48] Further problems with the dissertations produced at Chicago contributed to the end of the lectionary project in the 1960s. For example, some of the dissertations did not support the initial conclusions of Colwell. One thesis that proved most problematic for the foundational assumptions of the Chicago project was that of David Pellett (1954), which concluded that there was not a distinct lectionary text. Other later dissertations, such as Harry M. Buck's, 'began to doubt the presumed nature of the lectionary text' as well.[49] Eventually the Chicago project disbanded without an explanation. While Bruce Metzger, who published part of his Princeton dissertation in the Chicago lectionary series, apparently began to embrace Pellett's and Buck's negative conclusions about the uniformity of lectionaries, Wikgren, who directed the project following Colwell's move to Claremont in the 1950s, 'remained steadfast in his support of the original premise of the lectionary project' and 'ignored the negative conclusions of the later dissertations'.[50]

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[47] Colwell, 'Is There a Lectionary Text?', p. 84.

[48] Compare Osburn, 'Greek Lectionaries', pp. 103–104.

[49] Mary-Lyon Dolezal, 'The Elusive Quest for the 'Real Thing': The Chicago Lectionary Project Thirty Years On', *Gesta* 35.2 (1996), p. 135.

[50] Dolezal, 'The Elusive Quest', p. 135, referring to Allen Wikgren, 'Chicago Studies in the Greek Lectionary of the New Testament', in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey*, ed. J. Neville Birdsall and Robert W. Thomson (Freiburg: Herder, 1963), 96–121.

In 1942, while the Chicago project was in full swing, Günther Zuntz sought a critical edition of the Byzantine text that would be partially based on lectionaries. Acknowledging that the lectionary work of Colwell was 'preliminary',[51] Zuntz stated that 'The lectionary text of the New Testament is … not likely to remain [unknown]' but that it was probably not possible to produce a complete text of the Gospels unless continuous text manuscripts were also included.[52] Zuntz believed that the 'general identity' of the mass of 'Byzantine manuscripts must be due to the action and control of the Eastern Church; theirs is an "ecclesiastical" text. In looking for pure representatives', he says, 'it is reasonable first to test the ecclesiastical manuscripts in the proper sense of the word, namely the lectionaries'.[53] Zuntz described the basic features of such a critical edition as not just a reconstructed text and an apparatus, but alo a second volume 'containing all the non-Byzantine matter'.[54] Zuntz's own work with lectionaries focused on the Old Testament Prophetologia and was done in collaboration with Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae (MMB) in Copenhagen with Carsten Høeg.[55] This project, as its name states, was concerned with Byzantine music and interested in 'the "ecphonetic notation", i.e. the signs for musical recitation with which these service-books are usually equipped'.[56] For this project, the editors used all available *Prophetologion* manuscripts, about 160 in total which dated from about the ninth to the sixteenth centuries.[57] Zuntz came to the same conclusions as Colwell about there being a distinct lectionary text.[58]

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[51] Günther Zuntz, 'The Byzantine Text in New Testament Criticism', *JTS* os 43 (1942), p. 27.

[52] Zuntz, 'The Byzantine Text', pp. 26, 27.

[53] Zuntz, 'The Byzantine Text', p. 26.

[54] Zuntz, 'The Byzantine Text', p. 28. His description of this second volume seems to be essentially what the ECM is today, with its wealth of old Greek witnesses, versions and patristic quotations.

[55] Union Académique Internationale, *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Lectionaria, I. Prophetologium*, ed. Carsten Høeg and Günther Zuntz (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaards, six fascicles 1939–1970).

[56] Zuntz, 'The Byzantine Text', p. 27. For an explanation of the use of ecphonetic notations in manuscripts see Sandra Martani, 'Words and Music in the Greek Gospel Lectionaries', in *Psaltike: Neue Studien zur Byzantinischen Musik. Festschrift für Gerda Wolfram*, ed. Nina-Maria Wanek (Vienna: Praesens, 2011), 219–231.

[57] Carsten Høeg and Günther Zuntz, 'Remarks on the Prophetologion', in

Before the Chicago lectionary project ended, Colwell moved to Claremont, California. There he supervised the doctoral dissertation of Frederik Wisse,[59] who developed the Claremont Profile Method that was decisive for the IGNTP's selection of Greek continuous-text manuscripts for their edition of the Gospel according to Luke (hereafter IGNTP Luke).[60] In a status report of the IGNTP, the step-by-step process of selecting lectionaries for IGNTP Luke was presented:[61]

1. 'One lection from each of the gospels was collated in 250 MSS';

2. 15 of these manuscripts (9 weekday manuscripts and 6 Saturday-Sunday manuscripts) 'were selected on the basis of textual harmony, completeness, and chronological range';

3. In the synaxarion, '67 verses in the weekday lections and 46 verses in the Saturday-Sunday lections' were collated, along with 45 verses in the menologion;

4. The Saturday-Sunday lectionaries were eliminated since there is more Gospel text on the weekdays;

5. 11 weekday manuscripts were added (not necessarily from the original 250) and more collations were carried out: 19 manuscripts were collated in 12 verses noted in point 3. Elimination was then restricted to a manuscript with more than 8 minority readings and to those with no more than 5 majority readings. Then, 12 lectionaries remained, but since these were from Jerusalem and Mount Sinai, they were dangerously localised.

Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake, ed. Robert P. Casey, Silva Lake, and Agnes K. Lake (London: Christophers, 1937), pp. 189, 190.

[58] Zuntz, 'The Byzantine Text', p. 27.

[59] Frederik Wisse, 'The Claremont Profile Method for the Classification of Byzantine New Testament Manuscripts: A Study in Method' (unpubl. diss., Claremont Graduate School and University Center, 1968), published as, *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence as Applied to the Continuous Greek Text of the Gospel of Luke*, (SD 44; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1982).

[60] *The New Testament in Greek: The Gospel According to St. Luke*, ed. the American and British Committees of the IGNTP (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984 and 1987).

[61] Ernest Cadman Colwell, Irvin Alan Sparks, Frederik Wisse, and Paul R. McReynolds, 'The International Greek New Testament Project: A Status Report', *JBL* 87.2 (1968), esp. pp. 188–191.

> 6. 10 weekday lectionaries were added, ranging from the ninth to thirteenth centuries. Most were majority text (L69 was always in agreement with the Majority text). This eliminated the localisation problem.

The result was that 10 lectionaries were chosen to represent the dominant text (L69, L333, L513, L852, L853, L867, L991, L995, L1084, L1750), even though 'Lectionary 69 could portray the dominant text all alone'.[62] The status report did not comment on the selection of the lectionaries that were cited individually in IGNTP Luke, but the introduction to the edition itself lists 31 lectionaries that exhibited 'divergent text'.[63]

In IGNTP Luke, there is a separate apparatus for lectionaries which provides the most precise information to date in a critical edition for discovering where a variant can be located in a certain lectionary. Therein, the lection parameters, incipit, and opening textual variation are noted, along with the month and day (for menologion) or the week and day (for synaxarion).

A decade after IGNTP Luke, in 1993, UBS4 was published. Here lectionaries were cited both as a group and individually, similar to the convention of IGNTP Luke. Previous UBS editions had two sources for their lectionary data. First, thanks to Wikgren, the UBS editors had access to transcriptions from Chicago of 52 lectionaries, and therefore these lectionaries were cited based on these transcriptions. Second, there were an additional 97 lectionaries whose citations were culled from the apparatus of other printed editions. Starting with UBS4, a core of lectionaries was selected to represent the dominant lectionary text, and then other individual lectionaries were cited when they disagreed with the core group. The research that made this possible was from the Thessaloniki Lectionaries Research Centre, headed by Karavidopoulos; this research was used throughout the entire New Testament, except for Revelation. Unfortunately, no detailed systematic account has been published regarding how the Thessaloniki centre selected manuscripts. Nevertheless, there are some scattered details. At first, 150 lectionaries were selected and reductions were based on several criteria.[64]

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[62] Colwell, Sparks, Wisse, and McReynolds, 'A Status Report', pp. 190–191.

[63] IGNTP Luke, p. xi.

[64] Hermann Kunst, 'Die Veröffentlichungen seit 1982', in *Bericht der Hermann Kunst-Stiftung zur Förderung der neutestamentlichen Textforschung für die Jahre 1982 bis 1984* (Münster: Hermann Kunst-Stiftung, 1985), p. 105.

With assistance from the INTF, the Thessaloniki centre selected lectionaries from the eighth to sixteenth centuries. Lectionaries chosen had either (1) a usual Byzantine text, (2) a text different from the Byzantine text, (3) or were similar to the Byzantine text; and these were collated over the course of four years.[65] In UBS4, there are 30 *Evangelia* and 40 *Apostoloi*, which is the most any critical hand edition has offered in this period.

In his 1972 essay on lectionaries, Metzger draws four conclusions. First, lectionaries are 'chiefly useful in tracing the history of the transmission of the text of the New Testament' (p. 495). Second, lectionaries play no major role in 'ascertaining the original text' (p. 495), but seem to be the source of more than one textual dilemma.[66] Third, lectionaries have basically 'a Byzantine type of text, but also present are noticeable traces of what is commonly called the Caesarean type of text, as well as certain Alexandrian and Western readings' (pp. 495–6). Metzger also suggests that the modern lectionary system originated in the fourth century, contrary to Junack and Burns (see below). Finally, Metzger raises the matter of how to cite lectionaries precisely in an apparatus. Examples of his solutions are as follows:

Lect a majority of lectionaries in the synaxarion
$\mathit{Lect}^{\mathrm{m}}$ a majority of lectionaries in the menologion
l^{12} a single lectionary in the synaxarion
$\mathit{l}^{135\mathrm{m}}$ a single lectionary in the menologion
$\mathit{l}^{76\mathrm{s,\,m}}$ when the synaxarion and menologion are in agreement
$\mathit{l}^{135\mathrm{pt}}$ *partim*: when a reading occurs more than once and they disagree
$\mathit{l}^{135\ \mathrm{De}\ 25}$ a menologion reading for Dec 25th

[65] Karavidopoulos, 'Textual Criticism', p. 393.

[66] For example, in Matthew 25:31, 036 reads a lectionary incipit; in Luke 9:57, GA 04^{c3} reads a lectionary incipit; and several manuscripts agree with lectionaries in adding ὁ Ἰησοῦς after διδάσκων in Luke 13:10. Lectionaries also provide a window into how some differences came about in continuous text manuscripts, such as the location of John 7:53–8:11 after Luke 21, and the location of Luke 22:43–44 after Matthew 26:39 as in Family 13 (see further van Lopik's contribution to the present volume and Teunis van Lopik, 'Licht uit het Byzantijnse Oosten: liturgische invloed op de tekst van het Nieuwe Testament', in *Heimwee naar de Middeleeuwen: opstellen in theologisch perspectief ter gelegenheid van het 19de lustrum van het*, ed. Els de Bijll Nachenius et al. (Leiden: Collegium Theologicum, 1989) 50–63.

These sigla contain more details than the UBS sigla, although some are used in the UBS editions, notably *partim* and *Lect*. As observed above, IGNTP Luke notes in every instance where a reading occurs in the lectionary. A combination of the IGNTP and Metzger's system could thus offer a constructive solution to the question of how to cite lectionaries while also including information about the lectionary system in the manuscripts.

Another Greek edition in this period that gave lectionaries a place of importance in the apparatus was the UBS *Gospel According to John in the Byzantine Tradition* (2007). To avoid 'the methodological pitfalls of creating an eclectic text that never existed in the manuscript tradition', the editors of this edition simply used the diplomatic text of minuscule 35.[67] Among the witnesses cited in the critical apparatus there are 18 manuscripts listed as majuscules, 21 minuscules, and 18 lectionaries, which, at least numerically, puts lectionaries on a par with other types of manuscripts. As in the UBS4, Karavidopoulos also assisted the editors of this edition in selection of lectionaries. The lectionaries are cited individually (rather than, for example, *Lect*), and when a reading is found more than once in a lectionary, the order of occurrence is noted (for example in John 6:14, L1096 reads ἰδόντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι in the first instance and οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἰδόντες in the second instance, noted as L1096[1] and L1096[2] respectively in the apparatus). Unfortunately, this edition met with a critical response and, for financial reasons, the project was unable to continue with other New Testament books.[68]

Carroll Osburn in his essay, 'The Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament', (first published in 1995, revised in 2013), draws a number of conclusions about lectionaries. First, he states that from a text-critical perspective, lectionaries are most valuable for studying the Byzantine text, but the explanations of how and why they are different from the Byzantine text would 'contribute to better understanding of the earlier history of the text' (p. 108). Second, a critical edition of the lectionary is needed, 'based on full collations of all lections' (p. 109). Third, Osburn notes that a history must be produced that accounts for 'the various pre-seventh-century lectionary forms and the relationship with lections in early Church Fathers' (p. 109).

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[67] *The Gospel According to John in the Byzantine Tradition*, ed. Roderic L. Mullen with Simon Crisp and D.C. Parker (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), p. iii.

[68] See for example А.А. Алексеев, 'Новое издание византийского текста евангелия от иоанна', *Христианский Восток. Серия, посвященная изучению христианской культуры народов Азии и Африки* 6 (2013) 581–590.

Finally, he states that research is needed to address how lectionaries have influenced non-lectionary manuscripts, to highlight how lectionaries relate to the liturgical tradition and to clarify 'the value of lectionaries for understanding better the earlier forms of the textual tradition' (p. 109).

Ioannes Karavidopoulos, former editor of the NA and UBS editions and director of the Thessaloniki Lectionaries Research Centre, has made various observations about the need for more scholarship on lectionaries. In 2012 he noted that the academic community has long desired 'a well-studied edition of the liturgical text' and that the Byzantine text is important because of its use in the church for centuries.[69] There is more interest in the Byzantine text in the USA, for example, with the relatively recent editions by Hodges and Farstad and by Robinson and Pierpont.[70] Karavidopoulos states that that, as Greece has also put a priority on theological and exegetical studies in the latter half of the twentieth century, so a 'critical edition of the ecclesiastical text is imperative' (p. 6). He maintains that a critical edition should of necessity have the 1904 Patriarchal Text as the base text; to improve the text, the edition needs to use more than the 116 manuscripts in the Πτ; it must 'represent more geographical areas' (p. 7). A new critical edition requires financial support from Bible Societies as well as from the church 'for obtaining the necessary technological-electronic infrastructure, for copies of Byzantine manuscripts, for the remuneration of researchers, and for other needs of the project' (p. 7). Collaboration between institutes, such as ITSEE and the INTF, as well as Greek textual critics, is vital.

As for research on lectionaries currently being carried out, there are several institutions and projects that have shown an interest in their study. These include the Center for Study and Preservation of the Majority Text (CSPMT), the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts (CBM), Volos Academy in Athens and MMB. The text-critical research centres of ITSEE and the INTF are currently producing volumes of the ECM. Undertaking a critical edition of the lectionary text in partnership with them would be ideal since

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[69] Karavidopoulos, 'The 1904 New Testament Edition', p. 5.

[70] Zane C. Hodges and Arthur L. Farstad, *The Greek New Testament According to the Majority Text* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, first edition 1982, second edition 1985) and Maurice A. Robinson and William G. Pierpont, *The New Testament in the Original Greek According to the Byzantine/Majority Textform* (1st edn; Atlanta: Original Word, 1991); *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform* (2nd edn; Southborough: Chilton, 2005).

they already have the infrastructure (for example student workers and technology) to carry out large-scale projects of critical editions.

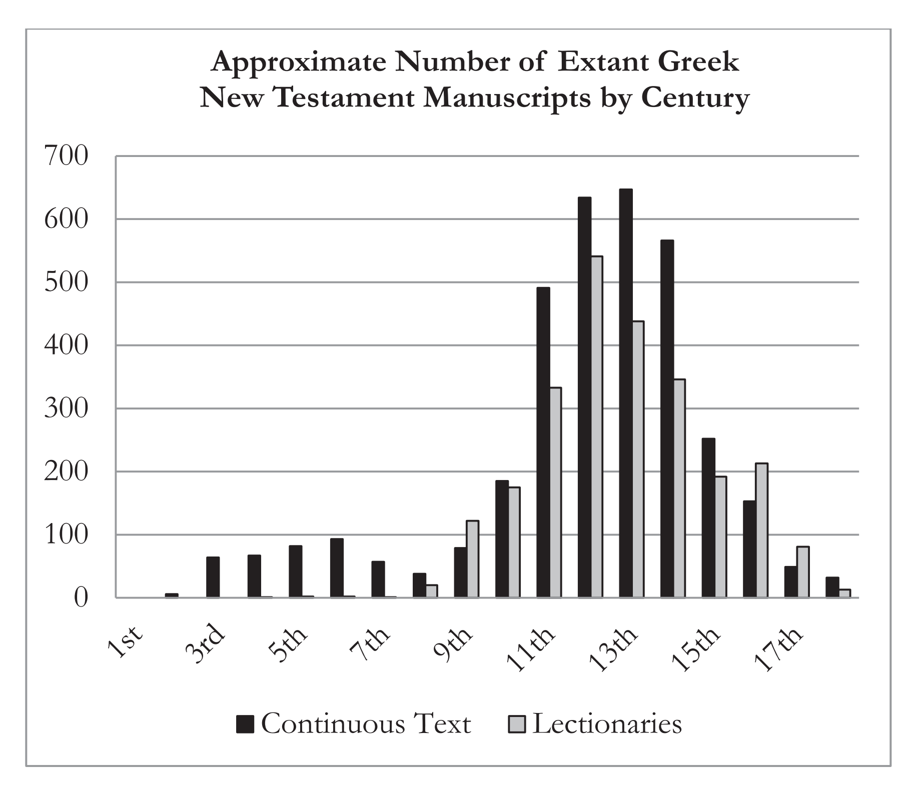
A number of the institutions and scholarship noted in the third period provide valuable insights toward the creation of a critical edition. These scientific forays have wrestled with how to discover lectionary relationships and commonalities, as well as practical ways to cite them in the apparatus. While this period evinces the inherent difficulties in the study of lectionaries, it is also a promising move toward giving lectionaries a more prominent voice than exhibited in the previous periods.

So far in this essay I have summarised the use of lectionaries in printed editions and in scholarship up to the twenty-first century and have highlighted areas in need of further exploration. Next, I will investigate practical steps toward the creation of a critical edition of the lectionary text. The following section focusses on specific elements of proposals for grouping lectionaries and other manuscripts together. I analyse the merits and feasibility of these proposals from a practical standpoint, looking for elements that can be extrapolated for use in a critical edition. In particular, I will describe ways to identify lectionary relationships, how to record the data from over two thousand lectionaries systematically and how the finished product might be displayed visually.

A Practical Way Forward: Test Passages, Platform and the Format of the Edition

The following chart is an overview of the extant manuscripts of the Greek New Testament registered in the *Liste*. It can be noted that in the ninth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, lectionaries actually outnumber continuous text manuscripts and there are more lectionaries dated to the twelfth century than any other century. The total number of extant lectionaries is approximately 2,398.[71] Critical editions and scholarship have used a mere fraction of these: despite the claim that there are over 5,000 Greek New Testament manuscripts, this number is only attainable when these neglected lectionaries are included in the tally.

[71] See note 2 above.



The process of categorising the text of the lectionaries is a daunting task. Where could we begin? To discover what the text of the lectionaries is like without transcribing every lectionary, it seems reasonable to adopt the method of using test passages since it has already been used and proved successful for the ECM volumes. Another method that could perhaps determine relationships between lectionaries is the comparison of text and decoration. However, this method could not be used for the oldest lectionaries and is not yet developed enough to produce reliable results, perhaps because the relationship between text and image is too fluid to provide a workable foundation.[72]

[72] See Anna Zakharova's discussions of Weitzmann (who believes there was one archetypal illustrated lectionary) and Dolezal (who believes that common features result from regional idiosyncrasies) in 'The Relationship between Text and

Test Passages

The ongoing ECM project provides a substantial amount of data in the apparatus. To prepare the ECM, thousands of manuscripts were collated at test passages so that similar witnesses could be organised and grouped together. The multivolume *Text und Textwert* (1987–) shows the results of these collations. One thing, however, is sorely lacking from these collations: lectionaries.

In the *Text und Textwert* volume of Mark, the German introduction states, 'In die Untersuchung wurden alle heute erreichbaren Handschriften mit fortlaufendem Text der synoptischen Evangelien einbezogen'.[73] A few lectionaries are found in the ECM, but they were not considered at this foundational point in establishing manuscript agreement; they were added to the apparatus later.[74] One useful feature in the ECM of the Catholic Epistles concerning lectionaries is the presence of Λ in the apparatus after a variant reading, which notes that the reading 'reflects the influence of a lectionary incipit'.[75] Although it is generally acknowledged that lectionaries do not offer much help for establishing the earliest attainable text, they have nevertheless played an invaluable role in the life of the church and are integral components of the manuscript tradition.

According to Klaus Wachtel, neither Πτ, nor the Chicago Lectionary Project, nor Karavidopoulos' Thessaloniki Lectionaries Research Centre 'included a sufficient number of documents to provide a basis for final conclusions about the textual history of the Greek New Testament lection-

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Image in Byzantine Illuminated Gospel Lectionaries', in *Bild und Text im Mittelalter*, ed. Karin Krause and Barbara Schellewald (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2011), 283–301.

[73] The English introduction runs: 'The research is based on all the text manuscripts of the Synoptic Gospels now available.' The omission of 'fortlaufendem' ('continuous') before 'text' is an oversight. Kurt and Barbara Aland, eds, *Text und Textwert der griechen Handschriften des neuen Testaments*, IV. Die synoptischen Evangelien, 1. Das Markusevangelium, 1. Handschriftenliste und vergleichende Beschreibung (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 1*, 17*.

[74] For an explanation, see Gerd Mink, 'Problems of a Highly Contaminated Tradition: The New Testament. Stemmata of Variants as a Source of a Genealogy for Witnesses' in *Studies in Stemmatology II*, ed. Pieter van Reenen, August den Hollander, and Margot van Mulken (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004), p. 18.

[75] ECM IV.2, p. 3; this feature is, however, not implemented in ECM Acts.

ary'.[76] He notes that, to move forward, research would need a selection of lectionaries based on test passages (1) where the wider Byzantine tradition (that is both *Byz* and *Lect*) is found split in the UBS apparatus, (2) where ℓ^{AD} and Πτ disagree, and (3) where *Text und Textwert* shows 'passages at which large minorities of witnesses differ from the mainstream'.[77] By 'large minorities' Wachtel means where roughly 10–20% of manuscripts agree.

In a recent dissertation on lectionaries in the Gospel of John, Christopher Jordan takes Wachtel's suggestions as a starting point to determine manuscript relationships. Using four criteria, Jordan arrives at 44 test passages in John: 16 passages from *Text und Textwert*;[78] 9 passages where *Lect* is split in UBS4;[79] 14 places where *Lect* is cited against individual lectionaries; and 4 passages from Jordan's own collation of Πτ and ℓ^{AD}. He concludes that, at least in John, 'it seems that there is no shortcut way of identifying groups of lectionaries that have significant textual agreement. The only way is to count the number of times a lectionary agrees with every other lectionary'.[80] With this, Jordan offers promising criteria to identify lectionary relationships that could also be applied outside of John to the rest of the New Testament. In an explanation of the selection of manuscripts for the *ECM* of John, the editors of John adopted Jordan's criteria and results for lectionaries in their edition.[81] For our present purposes, it is encouraging to see that these criteria have merit and were successfully employed in the creation of a critical edition. But, as Yvonne Burns observed a few decades ago, using only test passages is not suitable for lectionaries:

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[76] Wachtel, 'Early Variants', p. 40.

[77] Wachtel, 'Early Variants', p. 40.

[78] Christopher Jordan, 'The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John in Greek Gospel Lectionaries from the Middle Byzantine Period (8th–11th Century)' (unpubl. diss., University of Birmingham, 2009), pp. 57–58.

[79] Although Jordan includes John 11:50 here as one of his nine passages, *Lect* is, however, not split; rather *Lect* is cited against individual lectionaries. Nevertheless, this passage still has merit since it shows a division among lectionaries.

[80] Jordan, 'Textual Tradition', p. 312; cf. p. 522.

[81] David C. Parker, Klaus Wachtel, Bruce Morrill, and Ulrich Schmid, 'The Selection of Greek Manuscripts to be Included in the International Greek New Testament Project's Edition of John in the *Editio Critica Maior*', in *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity*, ed. Daniel Gurtner, Juan Hernández, Jr. and Paul Foster (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 287–328, esp. pp. 327–328.

> Textual scholars, who have devoted most of their attention to continuous texts, have traditionally relied upon spot checks, choosing passages or words of especial significance, but this is not satisfactory for lectionaries, since they have developed by accretion, which has resulted in certain lections and groups of lections normally differing in their text type from one another. As a result, less use has been made of the evidence existing in the Greek gospel lectionaries than of that in the continuous texts.[82]

Lectionaries do, however, offer one more important feature which has not yet been used for determining relationships, that might prove useful if compared across all other lectionaries: the lectionary system.[83]

Therefore, I would like to propose that more data should be added for analysis, which would further assist in grouping manuscripts. This would consist of (1) widening the field using the UBS edition, as Wachtel suggests, (2) identifying passages of importance from a collation of Πτ and l^{AD}, (3) expanding the parameters for *Text und Textwert* test passages and (4) comparing synaxarion and menologion systems. These proposals are expanded in the following.

1. Selections Based on the UBS Edition

Using the UBS5, in addition to locations where (1) *Lect* is split or (2) *Lect* disagrees with other lectionaries, locations where (3) *Byz* is split, (4) *Byz* disagrees with *Lect*, and (5) where l^{AD} is cited (which means it disagrees with *Lect*) should also be included as criteria to identify test passages. I have arrived at 91 test passages in the UBS5 in the Gospels that meet at least one of the aforementioned five criteria:

17 test passages in Matthew:

Matthew 6:18; 7:14; 8:25; 11:23; 13:55; 15:31; 18:10, 14, 15; 20:17; 22; 21:29–31; 22:23, 30; 26:27; 27:35; 28:8.

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[82] Yvonne Burns, 'A Close Relative of Jurje's Gospel, Located by Lection System Classification', *Slavonic and East European Review* 61.1 (1983) 1–17, quotations from p. 1.

[83] Of course the lectionary system is not limited to lectionaries *per se*, but is also an important feature of the K^r manuscripts and others that were used in liturgical settings.

26 test passages in Mark:

Mark 1:27, 34; 2:5, 9; 3:7–8, 32; 4:8, 20; 5:1; 6:33; 7:7–8, 15, 19; 8:7; 9:41; 10:1, 2, 21, 24, 36; 11:3; 12:23, 41; 13:2; 14:65; 15:27.

29 test passages in Luke

Luke 1:35; 3:33; 4:4, 44; 6:1; 7:11, 45; 8:3, 45; 9:1, 35, 55–56, 62; 10:1; 11:10, 13, 42; 12:21; 13:35a, 35b; 17:3, 23, 35; 20:9, 27, 45; 22:43–44; 23:11; 24:10.

19 test passages in John

John 1:28; 3:25; 5:1; 6:23; 7:53–8:11; 8:9, 10, 25, 39, 54; 10:8, 39; 12:17; 14:14; 16:4, 16; 17:11, 14; 19:16.

2. A Collation of Πτ and l^{AD}

According to my calculation of the CSPMT's collation of the Πτ against l^{AD}, there are 1,724 disagreements between the two editions in the Gospels: 393 in Matthew, 485 in Mark, 549 in Luke and 297 in John.[84] CSPMT's collation provides many more instances of variation than Jordan offered in his own collation, but there is also the problem that neither the Πτ nor l^{AD} is necessarily faithful to manuscripts. Some readings in these editions could be singular readings that were created in the process of production, or intentional changes in an attempt to adhere the Greek to contemporary standards. Thus, further analysis and a necessary refinement and reduction of CSPMT's collation data is warranted for our purposes.

3. Using Text und Textwert

Another source of test passages should come from where large groups (or 'large minorities' in Wachtel's designation) of manuscripts agree together against a mainstream text in *Text und Textwert*. Based on these percentages, the test passages used in *Text und Textwert* could be used to identify dozens of passages from each Gospel that differ from the first two criteria.

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[84] CSPMT, 'AD Press Gospel Lectionary] Antoniades GNT Collation', http://www.cspmt.org/pdf/collations/Larocque%20-%20Gospel%20Lectionary%20 Collation.pdf.

4. Comparing the Synaxarion and the Menologion

Though not executed in his dissertation, Jordan acknowledged that the different lectionary elements need to be transcribed and compared: lection identifier, gospel identifier, liturgy identifier, gospel text, textual boundary of each pericope, number of pericopes in the synaxarion, the locations of several specific lections (that is the twelve passion pericopes, Holy Friday Hours, and Eleven Resurrection pericopes), as well as several other features.[85] In-depth studies of these unique features of lectionaries, overdue for scientific investigation, could be carried out in individual research projects, such as doctoral dissertations.

These four criteria would certainly bring about more clarity concerning textual relationships of lectionaries, although that 'clarity' may well result in a more complex picture of lectionaries than the current situation. In addition, as many lectionaries as possible should be included in the test passages, following the model of the *Text und Textwert* series for continuous texts.[86]

Platform

As for the platform for collating and indexing lectionaries, I suggest the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room (NTVMR), run by the INTF, as a good candidate. Before this work could be carried out, the NTVMR would need to be adjusted to suit lectionaries better. The INTF holds microfilm of approximately 90% of all Greek lectionaries catalogued in the *Liste*, but only a relative handful of these liturgical manuscripts have been digitised thus far. Digitisation is no longer a complicated procedure, but it is time-consuming. Though the NTVMR is better suited to continuous-text manuscripts, after the initial presentation of this paper in Birmingham, March 2017 it was updated to offer a feature for indexing lectionaries. It is now possible to record information for the synaxarion or menologion periods, the biblical parameters of a given lection, as well as other indicators

[85] Jordan, 'Textual Tradition', pp. 523–524.

[86] In *Text und Textwert*, 314 test passages were selected for the Synoptic Gospels, using 1,984 manuscripts. Mark had the most test passages at 196, while Matthew had 64 and Luke had 54. John had 153 test passages in chapters 1–10 and full transcriptions of chapter 18 (*Text und Textwert*, forthcoming).

found in liturgical manuscripts. After multiple lectionaries have been indexed, it will eventually be possible to compare lectionary systems and biblical content at the click of a button. Such groundwork could be an important preliminary step to creating an open-source digital edition. This online tool marks a promising future for a lectionary project and recent upgrades signal the INTF's continued interest and support in such an endeavour.

Format of the Edition

Having put forward several criteria for grouping lectionaries and suggested a practical platform for this work, I would now like to delineate what the edition might look like. While a digital edition would be ideal for displaying the full results of the research, a printed edition could offer a selection of the most essential information and serve as a valuable reference tool. A practical matter in creating a critical edition based on lectionaries is whether the reconstructed text should be a continuous or non-continuous text.[87] I suggest creating a continuous text but with a double apparatus: one for the main Greek text, another for the lectionary system. In the printed edition, the main Greek text, in continuous text form, would be positioned in the centre of the page with an apparatus at the bottom, as is common practice for critical editions. The lectionary system would be placed in a wide outer margin, mimicking the location in certain Byzantine continuous text manuscripts. The lection identifiers in this outer margin would include the incipit (using the Chicago project's Roman numeral system for stereotypical phrases),[88] opening textual variation, reading parameters, and service identifier. For a synaxarion reading, the synaxarion period, week and day would be indicated; for the menologion, the month and day would be noted. Any variation from the reconstructed lection data in the margin can be recorded in an apparatus at the bottom of this wide outer margin. This apparatus for the lection system would also relieve the textual apparatus from the burden of supplying an abundance of data; thus the textual apparatus could focus

[87] Riddle, 'Use of Lectionaries', p. 62, criticises the Πτ saying that 'radical arbitrariness in the handling of the text is necessitated by the very fact that a continuous text is being prepared from lections. Incipits must be continually revised and omitted and choice must be made between lections and passages which appear more than once in the lectionary.'

[88] See *Studies in the Lectionary Text*, p. 84.

on supplying textual variants. Therefore, on a given page of the critical edition, the user could not only see which lectionaries contain which textual variants, but also see variations in the synaxarion and menologion systems. If necessary, the lectionary signs ἀρχη and τέλος can be supplied in the text to guide the reader.

The inner margin could include the pericope number for each lection and the Eusebian apparatus. The κεφάλαια and τίτλοι could also be provided between paragraphs of the main text. For ease of reference, versification would be placed in the text, rather than in the margin.

As for the base text of the edition, there are two fundamental possibilities: (1) creating an eclectic text, or (2) using a diplomatic text. For the latter, the Πτ text is a candidate and would perhaps aid the acceptance of the critical edition by the Greek Orthodox community. However, the Πτ text itself is not based on scientific principles and does not seem appropriate for a critical scholarly venture.[89] Another option would be to use a diplomatic text from a lectionary manuscript. The IGNTP discovered that L69 could represent the dominant lectionary text by itself, so perhaps L69 would be an ideal candidate as a base text for an edition of the Gospels. As the IGNTP's test passages were only from the Gospel of Luke, this would need to be expanded to incorporate test passages in all Gospels as well as the Apostolos.

As for creating an eclectic text, it is difficult to proceed further without the results of test passage agreements and comparisons of lectionary systems. The text-critical principle of ascertaining the textual variant that gave rise to the others does not seem useful when attempting to establish a text built by tradition, at least in this stage of our knowledge of the lectionary text. Fundamentally, an underlying theory of the development of the lectionary would be vital to establish the text. For that, the scholarship of Klaus Junack and Yvonne Burns provides the basic contours of the development of the Greek New Testament lectionary. In his detailed study of the Catholic Letters in the Apostoloi, Junack concluded that the Byzantine lectionary system 'ist mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit erst in Laufe des 7. Jhs. zu seiner Ausformung gelangt und kann uns daher nur in den Hss vom 8. Jh. an überliefert sein'.[90] His view is based on the belief that

[89] Compare the discussion above as well as the reason given in *The Gospel According to John in the Byzantine Tradition*, pp. iii–iv.

[90] Klaus Junack, 'Zu den griechischen Lektionaren und Ihrer Überlieferung der

> A prerequisite for the emergence of such lectionaries is firm ecclesial organisation which regulates the sequence of the celebration of the church year, the liturgical arrangement of these celebrations, and the determination of Bible texts, prayers, hymns, and so on to be read.[91]

Burns gives numerous examples of how the inclusion of certain pericopes, or lections, relates to the development of the lectionary. Before the Byzantine lectionary, there were primitive lectionaries that did not include all of the accepted lections of the Byzantine lectionary. Burns states that

> The acceptance of Christianity as the religion of the state by Constantine the Great early in the IV century has been a turning point in the history of the Church, one of the effects of which has been a number of innovations in the organisation of the Church Year.[92]

Such new developments included the separation of Christmas from Epiphany, the institution of Lent, the development of Pentecost and the inauguration of the Elevation of the Cross. As lectionaries increased in the number of lections for the year, eventually two cycles were created, one for the church year (the synaxarion) and one for the calendar year (the menologion). Burns believes that the latter cycle 'exemplifies the marriage of Church and State characteristic of Justinian's attitude to both'.[93] Burns further notes that

> no evidence of the Byzantine lection system has been found prior to the seventh century, neither in the form of rubrics beside a continuous text, nor as lections. This is consistent with a system beginning in the sixth century and undergoing rapid development.[94]

Dating the lectionary system as early as the second century (with Gregory) or fourth century (Colwell, Metzger, *et al.*) thus no longer seems possible,

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katholischen Briefe', in *Die alten Übersetzungen*, ed. Aland, p. 542.

[91] Junack, 'Lectionaries', *Anchor Bible Dictionary* 4:271.

[92] Yvonne Burns, 'The Historical Events that Occasioned the Inception of the Byzantine Gospel Lectionaries', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32.4 (1981), p. 120.

[93] Burns, 'The Historical Events', p. 124.

[94] Burns, 'The Historical Events', p. 124.

and trying to establish an initial text of the lectionary from the earliest centuries could be futile.[95]

Therefore, in this present infancy of the study of lectionaries, at least three possibilities present themselves for the base text: (1) the seventh-century lectionary text, (2) a diplomatic text, or (3) the dominant lectionary text, that is 'the most average and least individual form of the text',[96] which would essentially be the text established by the agreement of a group of lectionaries, such as the conventions of IGNTP Luke and UBS4. While these proposals should naturally remain open to change until further work is undertaken, for now, they are a promising place to start.

CONCLUSION

This essay has aimed to fill the gap in lectionary knowledge by proposing new ideas and a practical way to create a critical edition of the lectionary. Though it is not an exhaustive account, I have surveyed the history of lectionary use in critical scholarship, demonstrating that lectionaries represent a substantial, sorely neglected group of New Testament manuscripts. In general, scholars from the sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century were eager to use lectionaries in critical editions, in stark contrast to the neglect of the following approximately hundred years. The latter part of the twentieth century was marked by a rekindled interest in the study of lectionaries, but since it was a relatively new field with methods that still required fine-tuning, progress has been slow or incomplete and researchers must carry out the painstaking work of paving innovative ways forward. I have described some promising insights from scholars wrestling

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[95] Burns, 'A Close Relative', p. 4 argues that 'behind each prototype was a continuous text'. Gibson also believes this to be true of Greek Apostolos lectionaries: 'The textual evidence shows that most Apostolos witnesses are likely to be prepared from continuous text *Vorlagen*.' He concludes, 'there is no "Lectionary text" of the Apostolos in the sense argued by the [Chicago Lectionary] *Studies*, as if the likely ancestor of every Apostolos lection is a lection in an earlier Lectionary witness. Instead, the Synaxarion lections of the Apostolos transmit various forms of the evolving Byzantine text drawn from continuous text witnesses.' Samuel Gibson, 'The Liturgical and Textual Tradition of Acts and Paul in the Byzantine Apostolos Lectionary', (unpubl. diss., The University of Birmingham, 2015), p. 284; see also his contribution to the present volume.

[96] Zuntz, 'The Byzantine Text', p. 27.

with the complexities of lectionaries and proposed several options for collaboration in undertaking the arduous task of creating a critical edition. I have suggested practical steps to establish relationships between lectionaries using test passages and the lectionary system, discussed the NTVMR as a promising platform for this work and sketched the basic format of the proposed critical edition.

In conclusion, lectionaries have played an integral part in the life of the church and in the history and development of the text of the New Testament. We have a good idea of the nature of the Byzantine text based on minuscules, while other witnesses have enabled the reconstruction of the earliest attainable text with a reasonable degree of confidence. But why do we not know what the lectionary text is? Producing a critical edition based on lectionaries could yield significant results and greatly expand our knowledge of a largely untapped source that comprises approximately half of all extant Greek New Testament manuscripts. The creation of a critical edition will lead to deepened awareness of the history of lectionary use in worship and add important insight to our understanding of the transmission and development of the New Testament text.

I would like to close with a final thought. In 1995, Carroll Osburn said that 'A critical edition of the lectionary is greatly needed, based on full collations of all lections and direct comparisons of texts rather than variants from a printed text'.[97] In 2006, Wachtel responded to Osburn saying, 'This situation has not changed since'.[98] In a revision of his essay in 2013, Osburn proclaimed *again* that a critical edition of a lectionary text is still found wanting.[99] Five years later, I ask, have we come any closer?

[97] Carroll D. Osburn, 'The Greek Lectionaries', p. 71.

[98] Wachtel, 'Early Variants', p. 28.

[99] Osburn, 'The Greek Lectionaries', p. 109.

6. Some Notes on the *Pericope Adulterae* in Byzantine Liturgy.

Teunis van Lopik[1]

The Scope of the Present Study

In his commentary on the Gospel according to John, Loisy is clear: the Story of the Adulteress (John 7:53–8:11, *Pericope Adulterae* [*PA*]) is an interpolation.[2] Even discounting the external evidence, the overall tone and the indications of time and place correspond better to the phrasing of the Synoptic Gospels rather than John. Loisy continues:

> Il est parfaitement inutile de dire que l'omission, dans l'hypothèse de l'authenticité, est plus facile à expliquer que l'addition, dans l'hypothèse de l'inauthenticité. L' inauthenticité n'est pas une hypothèse, mais un fait aussi sûrement constaté qu'il est possible en pareille matière. L'addition seule est à expliquer, non l'omission.[3]

Arguments in favour of the omission theory do not have any impact on the arguments in favour of the inauthenticity of the passage. Loisy opposed two theories supposing the omission. The first is inspired by this statement in Augustine's *On adulterous marriages*:

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[1] I wish to thank Prof. H.J. de Jonge (Leiden) for his critical comments on prior drafts of this paper and Prof. H.A.G. Houghton for his correction of my English.

[2] A. Loisy, *Le quatrième Évangile* (Paris: Picard, 1903), p. 534: 'une pièce rapportée'.

[3] Loisy, *Le quatrième Évangile*, p. 538.

> Some of little faith, or rather enemies of the true faith, I suppose from a fear lest their wives should gain impunity in sin, removed from their MSS the Lord's act of indulgence to the adulteress.[4]

According to Loisy such feelings may have caused the suppression of the *PA* in some private copies, but not in the official copies of the churches.[5] The second theory rejected by Loisy claims that the omission of the *PA* is due to the structure of the Greek lectionary. Loisy says:

> Une autre hypothèse, moins naïve et plus savante, se fonde sur le lectionnaire grec … .

The debate on the 'naïve hypothesis' is still going on. Recently this suppression hypothesis has been defended by J.D. Punch in an article included in a volume dedicated to the *PA* and published in 2016.[6] In an article in the same volume Maurice A. Robinson, too, argues for its validity.[7] By contrast, also in the volume, Chris Keith rejects the suppression theory as he did earlier in a monograph.[8]

Keith states that Jennifer Knust was the first to refer to the theory in question as the 'suppression' theory.[9] However, the term 'suppression' was already used in the discussion of the *PA* a century before, in French. J.P.P. Martin, a defender of the Johannine authenticity of the *PA*,[10] argued as ear-

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[4] Since Loisy referred to Hort's *Notes*, I quote the translation given in B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek. Vol. 2, Introduction, Appendix* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1881), p. 82: 'Aug. Conj. adult. ii, 6 shews knowledge of the difference of the text by saying …' .

[5] Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament*, p. 86.

[6] J.D. Punch, 'The Piously Offensive Pericope Adulterae', in *The Pericope of the Adulteress in Contemporary Research*, ed. D.A. Black and J.N. Cerone, (LNTS 551; London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp. 27–30.

[7] M.A. Robinson, 'The Pericope Adulterae: a Johannine Tapestry with Double Interlock', in Black and Cerone, *The Pericope of the Adulteress*, p. 142.

[8] C. Keith, 'The Pericope Adulterae: A Theory of Attentive Insertion', in Black and Cerone, *The Pericope of the Adulteress*, pp. 105–108; C. Keith, *The Pericope Adulterae, the Gospel of John, and the Literacy of Jesus.* (NTTSD 38; Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 214–219.

[9] Keith, 'The Pericope Adulterae', p. 105 n. 68; Keith, *The Pericope Adulterae*, p. 214 n. 57.

[10] J.P.P. Martin, *Introduction à la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament. Partie pra-*

ly as 1886 that the omission of this passage was due to the hostile society of the first centuries of the Christian era, which limited the reading and transmission of the *PA*. Martin went on to say: 'L'étendue de la suppression et les autres faits demandent cependant une explication'.[11] The last paragraph of Knust's most convincing contribution to the 2016 volume is entitled: *Conclusion: The Suppression Theory Should be Abandoned.*[12] She is right.

Although Loisy found the lectionary theory *moins naïve et plus savante*, he nevertheless rejected it. He concluded:

> Le déplacement du récit dans le lectionnaire ne pouvait pas le chasser de l'Évangile.[13]

The heart of the lectionary theory is that the *PA* is a genuine part of John. According to this theory, a liturgical lesson for Pentecost as early as the second century comprised John 7:37–52 and 8:12. The omission of the *PA* (7:53–8:11) from that important lesson caused the absence of the passage in certain manuscripts of the continuous text of John.[14]

In the present contribution the lectionary theory will be challenged by further investigation of the liturgical rubrication of the Pentecost lesson and the *PA* in the manuscripts. In representatives of von Soden's family K^r the *PA* is marked with obeli. I will argue that with these signs the scribes of K^r did not intend to express their doubt about the authenticity of the *PA*, nor did they use them for liturgical rubrication. The K^r New Testament edition is a product of full-grown Byzantine theology. The acceptance of the *PA* runs parallel with the iconophile Triumph of Orthodoxy. I will show that in

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tique. 4th vol. (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1886), pp. 178–516.

[11] Martin, *Introduction: Partie pratique*, p. 460.

[12] J. Knust, ' "Taking Away From": Patristic Evidence and the Omission of the Pericope Adulterae from John's Gospel', in Black and Cerone, *The Pericope of the Adulteress*, pp. 87–88.

[13] Loisy, *Le quatrième Évangile*, p. 539.

[14] M.A. Robinson, 'Preliminary Observations regarding the Pericope Adulterae Based upon Fresh Collations of Nearly All Continuous-Text Manuscripts and All Lectionary Manuscripts Containing the Passage', *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 13 (2000) 35–59, especially p. 43; Robinson, 'The Pericope Adulterae', pp. 144–145; J.P.P. Martin, *Introduction à la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament. Partie théorique*. (Paris: Secrétariat de l'Instititut Catholique, Lecoffre, 1883), pp. 460, 542–543; Martin, *Introduction: Partie pratique*, pp. 343–351, 452, 466.

the earlier stages of the K text the *PA* was regarded as spurious or was even unknown. The lectionary theory should therefore be abandoned.

ASTERISKS AND OBELI

In manuscripts of the Greek and Latin Bible, special signs are sometimes used to indicate text-critical issues. The signs most used are asterisks and obeli. These signs were already used by Alexandrian librarians in the third century BCE and taken over by Origen.[15] In composing the *Hexapla* of the Old Testament, Origen added the signs to the text of the Septuagint. His procedure has been described by Rahlfs as follows:

> In order to indicate matter in the LXX, which did not appear in the original [Hebrew] text, he [Origen] employed obelisks (—,⸚ , ÷), symbols that were used in textual criticism by the Alexandrian Philologists, and especially in dealing with Homer, in order to brand a passage as spurious. Origen also made use of the obelisk in this same sense … . Conversely, Origen, as he himself says …, added "from out of the other editions (i.e. translations) in agreement with the Hebrew" whatever was missing from the LXX, characterising it with an asterisk (※), a symbol he likewise borrowed from Alexandrian philology.[16]

Origen's method was sometimes adopted by scribes of manuscripts of the Greek New Testament. Added asterisks or obeli usually mark the text as spurious or doubtful. However, at least two instances may be exceptions to that rule: the verses with the Bloody Sweat and Comforting Angel (Luke 22:43–44, sometimes referred to as the *Pericopa de Sudore*) and the *PA*.

Just as the passage with the Bloody Sweat is marked with these signs in some manuscripts, so in a related phenomenon it is transferred after Matthew 26:39 in certain lectionaries, members of the Ferrar group known as Family 13 and other continuous-text manuscripts because the pericope is

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[15] A.M. Donaldson, 'Explicit References to New Testament Variant Readings among Greek and Latin Church Fathers' (2 vols; unpubl. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2009), vol. 1 pp. 39–69; E. Steinová, 'Notam superponere studii. The Use of Technical Signs in the Early Middle Ages' (unpubl. diss., Utrecht, 2016), pp. 19–45.

[16] A. Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes.* (2 vols, 9th edn; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1935), vol. 1 pp. XXVIII–XXIX.

read in the lesson of Maundy Thursday in the Byzantine liturgy.[17] That lesson comprises Matthew 26:2–20, John 13:3–17, Matthew 26:21–39, Luke 22:43–45a and Matthew 26:40–27:2.[18] The lesson of the Tuesday of the last week before the Great Lent is Luke 22:39–23:1. In this instance, the Bloody Sweat is omitted to avoid duplication.[19] Consequently, the transfer of the Bloody Sweat is no real evidence of the 'floating' character of the Lukan passage, as Raymond Brown affirms.[20] Nor can it be maintained that the transfer of the Bloody Sweat to Matthew by Family 13 and several lectionaries strongly suggests that the Bloody Sweat is not part of the original text of Luke.[21] In the manuscripts E, V, 045, 24, 161, 166, 892 and 1216, which are equipped with a liturgical apparatus, the text of the Bloody Sweat is marked with asterisks or obeli. I have argued elsewhere that in these cases the signs in question may not be intended to express doubt; rather they may function as liturgical rubrication.[22] Claire Clivaz has supported this suggestion by

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[17] T. van Lopik, 'Tekstkritiek: telt het wegen of weegt het tellen?', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 45.2 (1991) 103–104; T. van Lopik, 'Once Again: Floating Words, Their Significance for Textual Criticism', *NTS* 41 (1995) 287–289.

[18] C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1900–1909), p. 362; *Θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν εὐαγγέλιον ὅμοιον κατὰ πάντα πρὸς τὸ ἀναγιγνωσκόμενον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.* (2nd edn; Ἀθῆναι: Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1982), pp. 392–398. This *Εὐαγγέλιον* has appeared in five editions (1, 1973; 2, 1982; 3, 1991; 4, 1995; 5, 2005) and its text is designated with the siglum *l*AD in UBS4 and UBS5. The text of this *Εὐαγγέλιον*, with 604 numbered pages, has been emended to the Textus Receptus. The Διακονια edition of 1979, with the same title but with 561 numbered pages, retains the text of Antoniades' *Patriarchal Edition* of 1904.

[19] *Εὐαγγέλιον*, pp. 330–332; Gregory, *Textkritik*, p. 361.

[20] R.E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: from Gethsemane to the Grave. A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), p. 181 n. 4.

[21] Thus, for example, B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament. A Companion volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament.* (2nd edn; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), p. 151. For different views on the background of Family 13's transposition, see: Van Lopik, 'Once Again', p. 287 notes 4 and 5. In the apparatus of NA27 it is recorded at Matthew 26:39 that the Bloody Sweat is added by C^mg, *f* 13 and *pc*, followed by '(ex lect.)': in NA28 the reference to lectionaries is omitted.

[22] Van Lopik, 'Tekstkritiek', p. 104.

referring to the crosses accompanying the Bloody Sweat in the manuscripts C³, 124, 174 and 543. She added GA 230 as a witness in which the Bloody Sweat is marked with an obelus.[23]

The Byzantine lesson for Pentecost is John 7:37–52 and 8:12.[24] However in order for the *PA*, John 7:53–8:11, not to be read, liturgical rubrication was required. In my next article, I suggested the following:

> In many manuscripts the PA is marked with asterisks, obeli or other signs. These signs are usually taken to be text-critical symbols. It is possible, however, that in some manuscripts the signs at issue belong to the lectionary equipment and are meant as helps for the lector. Such manuscripts, if any, have to be discarded as witnesses of the short text of John 7–8.[25]

This weakly-founded suggestion provoked various reactions. According to J.M.C. Scott, I thought that *many* of the signs in question are simply lectionary markings.[26] Chris Keith stated that Maurice Robinson and I suggested that the asterisks and obeli added to the *PA* are not text-critical markers, but rather part of the lectionary equipment.[27] Robinson argued:

> MSS which are obelised apparently were so marked for lectionary-related reasons. This was also Van Lopik's conclusion, and seems certain to be correct.[28]

Robinson also quoted Metzger:

> Significantly enough, in many of the witnesses that contain the passage it is marked with asterisks or obeli, indicating that, though the scribes

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[23] C. Clivaz, *L'ange et la sueur de sang (Lc 22, 43–44): ou comment on pourrait bien encore écrire l'histoire.* (Biblical Tools and Studies 7; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), p. 495.

[24] *Εὐαγγέλιον*, pp. 83–84; Gregory, *Textkritik*, p. 347.

[25] Van Lopik, 'Once Again', p. 290.

[26] J.M.C. Scott, 'On the Trail of a Good Story: John 7.53–8.11 in the Gospel Tradition', in *Ciphers in the Sand. Interpretations of the Woman Taken in Adultery (John 7.53–8.11)*, ed. L.J. Kreitzer and D.W. Rooke (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), p. 78.

[27] Keith, *The Pericope Adulterae*, p. 134 note 62.

[28] Robinson, 'Preliminary Observations', p. 46.

> included the account, they were aware that it lacked satisfactory credentials.[29]

Robinson's reaction to this was:

> [Metzger] anachronistically projects Alexandrian classical philological concerns into an era in which they no longer apply.[30]

Recently, Robinson repeated his interpretation of the obeli and other markings to the *PA*:

> … the MSS that include the PA with obeli or other markings generally do so to indicate lectionary practice involving the Pentecost lesson, and indicating that the PA should be skipped (υπερβαλε) and resumed (αρχου) as not pertaining to that lesson.[31]

There is a reason, we think, to reconsider the issue.

THE MARKING OF THE *PA* IN VON SODEN'S GROUP K

The marking of the *PA* with signs is found in Byzantine manuscripts since the eighth century.[32] More than a century ago, Hermann von Soden labelled the Byzantine text form with the siglum K, meaning Κοινή.[33] He distinguished and described different *K-Spielarten* of the Byzantine gospel text.[34] F.G. Kenyon clearly summarised von Soden's description of the K family:

> The three main classes are K^1, the earliest form of this family, K^r the latest, and K^x, which covers all that lies between them. The earliest complete K^1 MS. is ε 61 [Gregory's Ω] of the eighth century … . K^x is the

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[29] Metzger, *A Textual Commentary*, p. 189.

[30] Robinson, 'Preliminary Observations', p. 46.

[31] Robinson, 'The Pericope Adulterae', p. 145. *Αρχου*, repeated thus in note 84, must be *Ἄρξου*: the form is correct in Robinson, 'Preliminary Observations', p. 43.

[32] K. Aland, B. Aland, K. Wachtel, eds, *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testamentes. V. Johannesevangelium. 1. Teststellenkollation der Kapitel 1-10. Bd. 1,2: Resultate der Kollation und Hauptliste*. (ANTF 36. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), pp. 212–213.

[33] H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt, hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte. I. Teil: Untersuchungen*. (2nd edn; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1911), p. 707.

[34] Von Soden, *Die Schriften*, pp. 712–893.

> dominant text of the Middle Ages, at least from the tenth to eleventh century. Its subgroups are distinguished by the different forms in which they have (or omit) the pericope adulterae, $K^{\mu\nu}$, $K^{\mu 2}$, $K^{\mu 3}$, $K^{\mu 4}$, $K^{\mu 5}$, $K^{\mu 6}$, with minor varieties in which these have reciprocally influenced one another. K^{r} is the final revision made about the twelfth century with special reference to lectionary requirements, and this from the thirteenth century onwards became the accepted ecclesiastical text. The MSS. of this class are generally furnished either with tables of lections or with clearly marked beginnings and endings of lections in the text. They amount in number to about 200, and fall into eight divisions according to the fullness of their lectionary apparatus.[35]

Kenyon's siglum $K^{\mu\nu}$ is an error: the Greek ν must be a Latin v. $K^{\mu v}$ stands for manuscripts without the *PA*. μ7 is the dominant text form in K^{r}. $K^{\mu inc}$ designates the manuscripts including John 7:53–8:2, so without 8:3–11, the Story of the Adulteress. Furthermore: μ0 is the siglum for the archetype of the *PA* as reconstructed by von Soden; μ1 is the oldest form of the *PA*, known from the Codex Bezae (GA 05/D) and some other witnesses.

In von Soden's distinction of the main classes of K, the presence or absence of the *PA* and its different text forms are the main criteria. These will now be considered in turn.

1. Von Soden's K^1

One of the peculiarities of this text-type is that Matthew 16:2b–3, Luke 22:43–44, John 5:3b–4 and John 7:53–8:11 are all marked with asterisks.[36] Each of these passages is known for its text-critical problems and all that should be said about this is that the asterisks are witnesses of scribal doubt. Von Soden suggested that Matthew 16:2b–3 was not part of the original text form of K^1. The *PA* form in μ2 belongs to the *Urbestand* ('original

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[35] F.G. Kenyon, *The Greek Text of the Bible. A Student's Handbook.* (London: Duckworth, 1949 [Repr. 1953]), pp. 179–180. Compare E. von Dobschütz, ed., *Eberhard Nestle's Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament.* (4th edn; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1923), pp. 49–51. § 32, 'Der Reichstext und seine Formen', is an indispensable overview of K family manuscripts, indicated by their GA number.

[36] Von Soden, *Die Schriften*, p. 720.

state') of K^1, but the text is unstable and that explains the asterisks. Von Soden left open the possibility that originally K^1 did not contain the *PA*.

As a rule the manuscripts of K^1 are equipped with a liturgical apparatus. Matthew 16:2b–3 is part of the lesson of the Monday of the eighth week after Pentecost (Matthew 16:1–6).[37] John 5:3b–4 is part of the lesson of the third Sunday after Easter (John 5:1–15).[38] For these two lessons, rubrication of the continuous text with the indications of Ἀρχή and Τέλος is sufficient and therefore the asterisks are certainly not liturgical markings. With regard to the Bloody Sweat and *PA*, additional instructions for the lector are required. Christian Friedrich Matthaei described the presentation of the Bloody Sweat in the witness indicated by him as v (GA 031/V), a ninth-century member of K^1, as follows:

- In the margin of Luke 22:43: σπγ and ι (Eusebian section 283 and canon 10);
- before verse 43: ἄρξ (for ἄρξου, 'Begin here again!');
- at the end of verse 44: ὑ$^{\pi}$ (for ὑπάντα, 'go to') εἰς ματθ. κεφ. σϟς ('with Matthew 26:40, Eusebian section 296');
- both verses have asterisks in the margin like ※[39]

The indications ἄρξου and ὑπάντα are sufficient to insert the Bloody Sweat into the lesson of Maundy Thursday. The asterisks have no added value, unless signifying doubt about the text, *pace* Matthaei, who argued that the asterisks are notes to compose the ecclesiastical lesson.[40] The conclusion is warranted that these signs accompanying the Bloody Sweat in von Soden's K^1 do not have a liturgical origin and the same must be concluded with regard to the *PA*.[41]

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[37] *Εὐαγγέλιον*, 134; Gregory, *Textkritik*, 350.

[38] *Εὐαγγέλιον*, 45; Gregory, *Textkritik*, 345.

[39] C.F. Matthaei, *Evangelium secundum Lucam Graece et Latine. Ex codicibus nunquam antea examinatis edidit et animadversiones criticas adiecit* (Riga: Hartknoch, 1786), p. 445.

[40] Matthaei even tried to explain the asterisks at John 5:3b-4 in V as liturgical rubrication, but could not offer clear parallels: C.F. Matthaei, *Evangelium secundum Iohannem Graece et Latine. Ex codicibus nunquam antea examinatis edidit et animadversiones criticas adiecit.* (Riga: Hartknoch, 1786), p. 82.

[41] Unfortunately, V is imperfect: the text from John 7:39 is supplied in a thirteenth-century minuscule. See: C.R. Gregory, *Prolegomena* [= Volume 3 of C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*. Editio octava maior, 1869–1872. 2 vols].

A Note on Terminology

Matthaei's edition of the Greek New Testament with its curiously long title is a treasure trove of data on the Greek lectionary system. I will quote the title in its entirety to give an impression of the work's contents:

> *Novum Testamentum Graece. Ad codices Mosquenses utriusque bibliothecae ss. synodi et tabularii imperialis, item Augustanos, Dresdenses, Goettingenses, Gothanos, Guelpherbytanos, Langeri, Monachienses, Lipsienses, Nicephori et Zittaviensem, adhibitis Patrum Graecorum lectionibus, editionibus N. Testamenti principibus et doctorum virorum libellis criticis, iterum recensuit, sectiones maiores et minores Eusebii, Euthalii et Andreae Caesariensis notavit, primum quoque nunc lectiones ecclesiasticas ex usu ecclesiae Graecae designavit ac Synaxaria Evangeliarii et Praxapostoli addidit et criticis interpositis animadversionibus edidit Christianus Fridericus de Matthaei.*[42]

In this work, Matthaei clearly describes the indications added to compose a liturgical lesson from the continuous Gospel or Apostolos text.[43]

- Ἀρχή, the beginning of an ecclesiastical lesson.
- Ὑπέρβα, skip a passage and continue further down in the same book or chapter (*transitus*).
- After ὑπέρβα, look for Ἄρξου where the lesson starts again.
- Ὑπάντα, stop and continue with (literally: 'go to') a passage in another Gospel or another Epistle (*transitus*).
- Τέλος, the end of the lesson.

According to Matthaei, only the most accurate codices distinguish between ὑπέρβα and ὑπάντα.

Ἄρξου stands for 'Begin here again!' Ἄρξου is a late form of the second-person singular imperative of the aorist of the middle voice of ἄρχομαι, 'to begin'. The ending –ου looks like it is derived from the form

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Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894, p. 516 (minuscule 250); Gregory, *Textkritik*, p. 172 (minuscule 250). For the complex history of the numbering of the Codex, see: J. G. Schomerus, 'Erfahrungen bei der Bearbeitung früherer Handschriftenlisten (Von Wettstein bis Gregory)', in *Materialien zur neutestamentlichen Handschriftenkunde I*, ed. K. Aland (ANTF 3; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969), p. 289.

[42] C.F. Matthaei, *Novum Testamentum Graece*. I: Wittenberg: s.n., 1803; II: Curiae Variscorum [Hof, Hessen]: Grau, 1804; III: Ronnenburg: Schumann, 1807.

[43] Matthaei, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, vol. I p. 676.

of the imperative second-person singular of the present tense of the middle voice. The form ending in –ου is attested in Nicolaus of Otranto (Calabria, twelfth–thirteenth century), *Διάλεξις κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* (*Disputatio contra Iudaeos*).[44] In this dialogue between a Jew and a Christian, the latter says *Ἄρξου λοιπὸν ὅθεν βούλει καὶ λέγε...* to strengthen his argument.[45] The verbal form ἄρξου also figures in the verses *Ἄρξου χείρ μου ἀγαθή | γράφε γράμματα καλά*, which occur in manuscripts from the tenth century onwards. A four-line version of the poem is preserved in various forms.[46] Remarkably, in all these instances ἄρξου has to do with reading and copying.

2. Von Soden's K^x

Most of the manuscripts of group K^x contain a liturgical apparatus that is based on the Eusebian sections. In group K^x the text forms μ5 and μ6 of the *PA* are dominant, but all forms (except μ1, representing Codex Bezae) are present, even μinc (only 7:53–8:2). Some of the manuscripts do not contain the *PA*.[47] The status of the *PA* in these witnesses of the tenth and eleventh centuries is very uncertain, as von Soden pointed out in a discussion of the K^x members with only μinc:

> Da die μοιχ später verdächtig war, wurde sie naturgemäss hin und her von peinlichen Schreibern ausgelassen. Dies mag auch von den Vorlagen mancher der unter $K^{\mu v}$ aufgenommenen Codd zutreffen.

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[44] I owe the grammatical explanation to Prof. H.J. de Jonge (Leiden) and the reference to Nicolaus Otranto to Prof. C. Karakolis (Athens).

[45] L.M. Hoffmann, *Der antijüdische Dialog Kata Iudaion des Nikolaos-Nektarios von Ortanto. Editio princeps, Einführung und Kommentar*. Corrected electronic edition. (Darmstadt: Hoffmann, 2015) p. 125 (Dies II, line 6–7); the original dissertation was submitted in Mainz in 2008.

[46] I. Vassis, *Initia Carminum Byzantinorum*. (Supplementa Byzantina 8. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), p. 77. Database of Byzantine book epigrams. Ghent University, Department of Literary Studies, Greek Section, http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/3084. Compare J.D. Karavidopoulos, 'Σημειώματα και κολοφώνες σε βιβλικά χειρόγραφα', *Ενατενίσεις* 11 (May-August 2010), p. 40.

[47] Von Soden, *Die Schriften*, pp. 734–757.

> Nachweisbar ist es aber nur, wo dem Reinigungseifer bloss die Lektion 8 3–11 zum Opfer fiel.[48]

One of the representatives of K^{x} is GA 8.[49] In this manuscript, diplai (>) occur in the margin at John 5:4 (ἄγγελος–νοσήματι) and 8:3–4a (ἄγουσιν–αὐτῷ). The signs added are echoes of the textcritical marks (※) added at the same places in the members of group K^{1}, where Matthew 16:2b–3 and Luke 22:43–44 are also marked. The diplai added only to part of the *PA* cannot be a liturgical instruction for the lector to skip the whole *PA* in the Pentecost lesson. The beginning of the lesson (John 7:37) is indicated with αρ^{χ}. After ἐγήγερται and before καί (7:52/53), there is a rubricated υ^{π}, indicating the omission of the following text. After ἁμάρτανε and before πάλιν (8:11/12) is ἄρ^{ξ}, meaning that the reading should start again. The lesson is concluded after ζωῆς (8:12) with τ^{ε} τ^{ς} ν (τέλος τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, with the numeral ν [50] standing for Pentecost). In this manuscript, quotations from the Old Testament, too, are marked by diplai, in the same way that a part of the *PA* is emphasised.[50] Obviously the diplai are added here for other than liturgical reasons.

GA 21 from the twelfth century, possibly from Calabria, is of particular interest. Von Soden classified it (ε286) as a good witness of group I^{a} in the text of Matthew. The text of the other Gospels is mixed, but mostly Κοινή. There are obeli at John 5:4 and the manuscript lacks the *PA*, two of the characteristics of K^{x}. The numbered ἀναγνώσματα, however, are characteristic of K^{r}.[51] This example shows that (1) von Soden's groups K^{1}, K^{x} and K^{r} are not clearly demarcated and (2) the status of the *PA* remained uncertain for a long time.

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[48] Von Soden, *Die Schriften*, p. 753.

[49] http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8470447s/f43.image.r.

[50] For the use of diplai as quotation signs, see: Steinová, 'Notam superponere studii', p. 200; for the use of diplai as quotation signs of Old Testament passages in GA 012 and GA 037, see: E. Steinová, 'Technical Signs in Early Medieval Manuscripts Copied in Irish Minuscule', in *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages. Practices of Reading and Writing*, ed. M.J. Teeuwen and I. Van Renswoude, (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 38; Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), p. 54.

[51] Von Soden, *Die Schriften*, pp. 1288–1289; Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 466; *Textkritik*, pp. 133–134.

3a. Von Soden's K[r] and the Byzantine ἀναγνώσματα

From the seventh edition of his *Novum Testamentum Graece* (1908) onwards, Eberhard Nestle incorporated the Eusebian Synopsis (previously published in the first edition of his *N.T. Latine*, 1906), the chapter numbers of the *kephalaia* and the Codex Vaticanus divisions in the margins. He promised to include the material from the pericope system of the Greek Church in a later edition.[52] I quote Nestle's German text:

> Das Perikopensystem der alten griechischen Kirche am Rand oder in einem Anhang zu verzeichnen, muß einer späteren Bearbeitung vorbehalten bleiben; hier kann für dasselbe nur auf die Ausgabe von Matthäi 1803–7, Scholz 1830–36, die kleine Patriarchatsausgabe (Konstantinopel 1904) und die Einleitungswerke von Scrivener und Gregory verwiesen werden.[53]

The scholarly works mentioned here are still compulsory matter for the modern student of the subject.[54] Regrettably, Nestle could not realise his plan and thus the Byzantine system of ἀναγνώσματα remained uninvestigated for too long.

The presence of a full liturgical apparatus is one of the features of the manuscripts of von Soden's group K[r], which originated in the late eleventh century.[55] The members of this group present the Byzantine text in its purest form. GA 35 (eleventh century) and GA 18 (1364 CE) are considered the

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[52] N8, 1910, in the Latin preface dated October 1909, p. XI.

[53] *NT Graece et Germanice* 8, 1912, p. XV. Preface.

[54] Matthaei published the Greek and Latin New Testament in twelve separate volumes (Riga: Hartknoch, 1782–1788). I presented the title of his second edition above; J.M.A. Scholz, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (2 vols; Leipzig: Fleischer, 1830–1836); B. Antoniades, ed., *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη ἐγκρίσει τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας* (Ἐν Κωνσταντινοπόλει: ἐκ τοῦ Πατριαρχικού Τυπογρφείου, 1904); F.H.A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the Use of Biblical Students*. (4th edn, 2 vols; London: Bell, 1894); and especially Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, pp. 327–386, 1219–1225.

[55] Von Soden, *Die Schriften*, pp. 757–765, 780–781, 799–805 (Gospels), 1769–1772 (Acts), 1874–1875 (Catholic Epistles), 1918–1919 (Pauline Epistles), 2050 (Revelation). Compare: F. Wisse, *The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence as Applied to the Continuous Greek Text of the Gospel of Luke*. (SD 44; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans), pp. 92–94.

best representatives.[56] The body text of the UBS edition of *The Gospel according to John in the Byzantine Tradition* is that of GA 35.[57] A novelty of the K^r edition was the consistent introduction of a new division of the text in ἀναγνώσματα.[58] Thus far, in manuscripts of the groups K^1 and K^x, the division into Eusebian sections was used for liturgical references. In the new division, Matthew has 116 ἀναγνώσματα, Mark 71, Luke 114, John 67, Acts 53, James 8, and so on, with Hebrews 40. Sometimes the gospel lessons are numbered consecutively. In GA 21, the last ἀνάγνωσμα in Matthew is 120, in Mark 190, in Luke 309 and in John 379.[59] Eventually, there is also a single numbering of lessons in the Apostolos, running to 365 or 335.[60] In his second edition of the Greek New Testament, Matthaei records

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[56] K. Wachtel, 'The Byzantine Text of the Gospels: Recension or Process?'. Paper presented at the SBL Annual Meeting 2009.

[57] R.L. Mullen, S. Crisp and D.C. Parker, ed., *The Gospel according to John in the Byzantine Tradition*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007). Online at http://www.iohannes.com/byzantine/.

[58] This is not the place to describe the ἀναγνώσματα in full. See Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 162; Gregory, *Textkritik*, pp. 1212–1213. For the ἀναγνώσματα the 'Table of ancient and modern divisions of the New Testament', in Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction*, I:68, offers confusing data. See further von Soden, *Die Schriften*, pp. 396, 761; D.O. Voss, 'Is Von Soden's K^r a distinct type of text?', *JBL* 57 (1938) pp. 311–312; T. van Lopik, 'Licht uit het Byzantijnse Oosten: liturgische invloed op de tekst van het Nieuwe Testament', in *Heimwee naar de Middeleeuwen,* ed. E. de Bijll Nachenius et al. (Leiden: s.n., 1989), p. 52. The ἀναγνώσματα of the Gospels have recently been described by S. Royé, 'The cohesion between the Ammonian-Eusebian apparatus and the Byzantine liturgical pericope system in Tetraevangelion codices. Stages in the creation, establishment and evolution in Byzantine codex forms', in *Challenges and perspectives: collected papers, resulting from the expert meeting of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts programme*, ed. K. Spronk, G. Rouwhorst & S. Royé, (CBM Subsidia 1. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 55–116. Unfortunately, the work of Matthaei and von Soden on K^r receives no attention in this collection of essays. I wish to thank Dr. S. Royé (Amsterdam) for allowing me to read unpublished documents of the CBM pilot edition of 2009.

[59] Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 466; *Textkritik*, p. 134.

[60] Matthaei, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, vol. III p. 5 note 2. In the Old Slavonic *Apostol'.* (Rim': V' Tipografii Kriptoferratskija Obiteli, 1955), the last ἀνάγνωσμα, Hebrews 13:17–25, is given the number 335. *Svjatoe Evangelie* (Rim': V' Tipografii Kriptoferratskija Obiteli, 1958) has in the Gospels the ordinary numeration of 116–

liturgical data from K^r manuscripts.[61] The numbers of the ἀναγνώσματα are printed in the margin of the text. The lists of the lessons for the moveable year (συναξάριον), fixed year (μηνολόγιον) and common of saints and special occasions (διαφόρους ἁγίους καὶ λιτάς) include references to the number of the ἀνάγνωσμα concerned.

3b. Von Soden's K^r and the Byzantine ἀνάγνωσμα κη': *PA*

The Johannine lesson 28 comprises the *PA*. Its incipit is John 8:3: ἄγουσι δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς. The incipit of lesson 29 is 8:12b: ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς. This does not mean that 8:12a belongs to the lesson with the *PA*. Matthaei printed: '[Ἀρχή.] ἄγουσι δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς …'; and: '… μηκέτι ἁμάρτανε. [Τέλος]'.[62] The list of Εὐαγγέλια εἰς διαφόρους λειτουργίας proposes the reading of lesson 28 on the occasion of the investiture of women in the monastic habit (εἰς σχῆμα) and women's penitence (ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων).[63] Other instances of the use of the lesson will be discussed below.

In the core manuscripts GA 18 and GA 35 of the K^r group, the *PA* is obelised with '—' from 7:52 to 8:11. In both manuscripts the lesson for Pentecost is rubricated according to the rules: Ἀρχή – Ὑπέρβα – Ἄρξου – Τέλος. The lesson from the *PA* comprises John 8:3–11: $αρ^χ$ before Ἄγουσι and $τ^ε$ after ἁμάρτανε. In these manuscripts, quotations from the Old Testament are marked by obeli, in the same way as the *PA* is emphasised.[64]

In *Text und Textwert*, 134 manuscripts are recorded in which 7:53–8:11 is marked with asterisks or obeli and 142 manuscripts in which only 8:3–11 is marked.[65] The obeli or asterisks in the latter group cannot be a rubrication of the Pentecost lesson, since on that day 7:53–8:2 is not skipped. Remarkably, certain copies lack the *PA* in the Pentecost lesson but present it

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71–114–67 ἀναγνώσματα. *Evangelïe* and *Apostol'* are fine examples of Byzantine continuous textbooks with full Byzantine lectionary equipment.

[61] Matthaei, *Novum Testamentum Graece*. On the ἀναγνώσματα, see vol. I pp. 728–730 notes 49, 50; vol. III p. 5 note 2.

[62] Matthaei, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, vol. I pp. 568–572.

[63] Matthaei, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, vol. I p. 768.

[64] GA 18: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10721796m/f4.image.r; GA 35: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11000133v.

[65] Aland, *Text und Textwert. Johannesevangelium 1*, p. 212 (4 and 4B).

elsewhere, at the end of John or Luke still marked with asterisks or obeli.[66] Once again, these signs cannot be a rubrication of the Pentecost lesson.

GA 225 is known for the transposition of the *PA* after John 7:36. Thus presenting the Pentecost lesson as an uninterrupted unit, the *PA* is added to 7:31–36, a passage passed over in the lectionary system.[67] The *PA* is also added to 7:36 in GA 1128, a twelfth-century manuscript in which it is marked with special signs.[68] Here again, this cannot be an instruction to skip the *PA*. This also applies to the Gospel lectionary L86, dated to 1336 CE. Here, the *PA* is marked as a lesson for the rite of penitence (ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων) and, as such, obelised.[69] The signs are used indiscriminately, certainly not (1) to express doubt nor (2) as an instruction to skip the text in the Pentecost lesson, nor as rubrication of the *PA*.

The apparatus guidelines of the United Bible Societies' *The Gospel according to John in the Byzantine Tradition* state:

> Manuscript 35 treats 7.53–8.11 as doubtful, using an obelus ÷ to indicate the doubtful verses, and the present edition follows that practice. Other continuous-text manuscripts follow a similar procedure in that passage (and/or in 5.4).

The editors' comment on the text of 7:53–8:11 in the transcription of GA 18 is this it is 'obelised as doubtful'. It is true that the scribes of the oldest members of von Soden's group of K (K^1) knew about the doubt with regard to the authenticity of both 7:53–8:11 and 5:4. However, it is unlikely that the scribes of GA 35 and 18, belonging to K^r, intended to express doubt about the text of the *PA*. In the K^r edition, the *PA* was firmly settled in the liturgy and the *PA* was a highly esteemed part of the Gospel.

4. A Provisional Conclusion

Minuscule 145 (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Gr. 1548, eleventh century) belongs to von Soden's group K^x. In this manuscript, John 5:4 has been obelised.[70] The same applies to the *PA*.[71] J.A.M. Scholz

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[66] Aland, *Text und Textwert. Johannesevangelium 1*, p. 213 (5B and 8).

[67] Van Lopik, 'Once Again', pp. 289–290.

[68] Aland, *Text und Textwert. Johannesevangelium 1*, p. 214 (13 and 13B).

[69] Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 705; *Textkritik*, p. 395.

[70] Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 498 (asteriscis notatur); *Textkritik*, p. 158 (obelisirt).

[71] Aland, *Text und Textwert. Johannesevangelium 1*, p. 212 (4B).

has shown that the scribe was undoubtedly aware that the Story of the Adulteress, 8:3–11, was lacking from many manuscripts. Scholz copied the following scholion from the manuscript:

> τουτο το κεφαλαιον εν πολλοις αντιγραφοις οὐ κειται, απο του αγουσι δὲ οἱ γραμματεις μεχρι του μηκετι ἁμαρτανε.[72]

Gregory inspected the manuscript on 31 March 1886; his transcription of the same note shows some minor variations:

> τοῦτο τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀντιγράφοις οὐκ ἒστι, ἀπο τό· ἄγουσι δὲ οἱ γραμμ., μέχρι τό· οὐκέτι ἁμαρ.

According to von Soden, GA 145 and its allies all have 7:53–8:2 in the text form of µ5 and 8:3–11 in the form of µ6.[73] They are witnesses to the instability of the *PA*'s location and text form in group K^{x} in the tenth and eleventh century. The scholion in GA 145 proves the scribe's awareness of text-critical problems. In this case, the marking of a passage with obeli or asterisks is evidence of doubt concerning its authenticity.

As argued above, it is unlikely that by obelising the *PA* the scribes of the manuscripts in group K^{r} (from the eleventh century onwards) intended to express doubt about its authenticity. The conclusion seems to be warranted that the obeli were no liturgical rubrication; they must have served another purpose.

THE TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY: ON ICONS, HOLY WOMEN AND THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE *PERICOPE ADULTERAE*

The *PA* appears in Byzantine manuscripts of the gospels from the eighth century onwards. From then on, it also spread gradually in the liturgy. Its reception in the liturgy was indeed a remarkably slow process. In my opinion, this slowness was caused by the fact that, during the period of the iconoclastic troubles (*circa* 725–843 CE), the veneration of female penitents

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[72] J.A.M. Scholz, *Biblisch-kritische Reise in Frankreich, der Schweitz, Italien, Palästina und im Archipel, in den Jahren 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, nebst einer Geschichte des Textes des N.T.* (Leipzig: Fleischer, 1823), p. 104.

[73] Von Soden, *Die Schriften*, p. 750: ε1008 (GA 1687), ε101 (GA 145), ε 139 (GA 559), etc. See von Dobschütz, *Einführung*, p. 50 last line.

and saints was strongly discouraged by the iconoclasts. The history of Iconoclasm may be outlined as follows:[74]

- In 726 CE Emperor Leo III turned against the icons.
- In 754 CE, under Constantine V, the council of Hiereia declared the production and veneration of icons heretical.
- In 787 CE, under Empress Eirene, the iconophile council of Nicea reversed the decisions of 754 CE.
- During the reign of Leo V, 813–820 CE, the iconoclast party predominated.
- At a synod held in March 843 CE, the Empress Theodora restored the decisions of the council of 787 CE. The day is still commemorated on the first Sunday of the Great Lent, the Sunday of the Orthodoxy or of the Holy Icons. [75]
- In 843 CE, the triumph of the iconophile orthodoxy was not yet complete. It was not until 1166 CE that the synod of Blachernes, which took place during the reign of Manuel Comnenus, definitely marked that victory.

In more recent times, the role of women in the Byzantine Empire, and as a result also in Iconoclasm, has been receiving ever greater attention.[76] As early as 1890, K. Schwarzlose described the women's revolt against the destruction of Christ's icon in the palace of the iconoclast Emperor Leo III. The women were put to death.[77] Schwarzlose continued:

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[74] My principal guides are: A. Neander, *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion.* (3rd edn, 2 vols; Gotha: Perthes, 1856), vol. 2 pp. 108–133, 291–304; G. Passarelli, 'Der Bilderstreit – Geschichte und Theologie', in *Ikonen: Ursprung und Bedeutung,* ed. T. Velmans (Stuttgart: Belser, 2002), pp. 21–40, 223–225; J. Shepard, ed., *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c. 500–1492* (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), pp. 279–291.

[75] Συνέκδημος, *Μέγας ἱερός συνέκδημος τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου χριστιανοῦ.* (Ἐκκλησιαστική βιβλιοθήκη. Ἀθῆναι: Φῶς ΧΕΕΝ, [1984]), pp. 337–343; N. Nilles, *Kalendarium manuale utriusque ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis.* (2 vols, Oeniponte: Rauch (Pustet), 1896–1897), vol. 2 pp. 101–121; N. Edelby, *Liturgicon. Missel byzantin à l'usage des fidèles* (Beirut: Renouveau Archevêché Grec-Catholique, 1960), pp. 87–92.

[76] Recently, L. Theis, M. Mullett, and M. Grünbart, eds, *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond.* (Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 60/61; Vienna: Böhlau, 2014). See the bibliography by J. Herrin, pp. 430–435.

[77] K. Schwarzlose, *Der Bilderstreit, ein Kampf der griechischen Kirche um ihre Eigenart*

> Gleich aus diesen Tumulten und aus dem Umstande, daß sogar schwache Frauen der Entfernung der Bilder thätlichen Widerstand entgensetzen, leuchtet ein, daß nicht bloß eine kultische Institution in den Bildern verehrt wurde, sondern ein tiefgewurzeltes religiöses Interesse mit denselben verbunden sein mußte.

Recently, doubts have arisen about the historicity of these events.[78] The story was probably invented or at least coloured by iconophile historiography of the eighth to the twelfth centuries. The question seems to be justified, however, as to whether there is any connection between the growing interest in the role of women during the iconoclastic troubles and the growing importance of the *PA* in liturgical manuscripts.

The Function of the *PA* in Byzantine Liturgy: Penitence and Holy Women

In modern editions of the Εὐαγγέλιον, the *PA* (John 8:3–11) is printed twice: in the Menologion for 1 April, the day of Mary of Egypt (τῆς ὁσίας μητρός) and in the rubric Εὐαγγέλια εἰς διαφόρους περιστάσεις: Εἰς ἐξομολογουμένας γυναῖκας.[79] In the Office of Penitence the penitent confesses his or her sins, kneeling with hands upraised, and asks for forgiveness and the grace of not sinning anymore (χάριν τοῦ μηκέτι ἁμαρτάνειν), an allusion to John 8:11.[80]

As mentioned above, the *PA* occurs in Matthaei's list of new Byzantine ἀναγνώσματα as the lesson for the rite of penitence (ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων).[81] In his first edition, Matthaei also gave it another name: εὐαγγέλιον εἰς μετανοοῦντα. This designation is found in GA 241 (Matthaei's k) in the margin of ἀνάγνωσμα 28.[82] The *PA* is also read on the occasion of women's investiture with the monastic habit (εἰς σχῆμα

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und um ihre Freiheit. (Gotha: Perthes, 1890; reprint: Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1970), pp. 52–53.

78 C. Angelidi, 'Byzantine Heterodoxy and the Search for Identities: Some Thoughts on Byzantine Iconoclasm', *Historein* 2 (2000), pp. 125, 129 (note 6).

79 *Εὐαγγέλιον*, pp. 545, 600.

80 *Μικρὸν εὐχολόγιον ἢ ἁγιασματάριον*. Ἔκδ. Ι'. (Ἀθῆναι: Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Εκκλησιας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1988), p. 135.

81 Matthaei, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, vol. I p. 768.

82 Matthaei, *Evangelium secundum Iohannem*, pp. 142, 361, 362.

γυναικός).[83] The reading of the *PA* on this latter occasion relates, of course, to the use of the passage on the days of holy women or nuns.

Nowadays, Mary of Egypt is a very popular saint in Greece. In modern Greece her name is even proverbial: *Κάνω τήν όσία Μαρία*, to play the holy Mary, means to be a smooth hypocrite.[84] In the modern lectionary, the *PA* is only printed in full in the Menologion in the liturgy for Mary's day, 1 April. In nineteenth-century *Anthologies* of the Menologion, Mary is still treated in the same way as Theodora (11 September) and Pelagia (8 October). For the services for all three of them, the reader and the officiant are referred to the same service: *Ζήτει τὴν Ἀκολουθίαν εἰς Ὁσίαν Γυναῖκα*.[85]

In the medieval Byzantine liturgy of saints' days, the *PA* is read on the feast of Pelagia (8 October) much more often than on the day of any other saint. The *PA* is also read on the feasts of Theodora (11 or 18 September), Euphemia (16 September), Barbara (4 December), Eudokia (1 March) and Mary of Egypt (1 April).[86] Caspar René Gregory described the Gospel lectionaries in the *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's *Editio Octava Critica Maior* and numbered them 1–936. In his descriptions, he often noted that the lectionary at issue included the *PA* as a lesson. When Allen P. Wikgren tried to establish the lectionary text of the *PA*, he inspected 37 lectionaries and took note when any of these contained the *PA*. Counting how often the *PA* occurs in lectionaries on any occasion or feast day and adding up the data recorded by Gregory and Wikgren,[87] I arrived at the following totals: Penitence 19, Pelagia 76, Mary 8, Theodora 6, Eudokia 2.[88] Furthermore, Gregory observed that the *PA* was occasionally (*gelegentlich*) read on Euphemia's day

[83] Matthaei, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, vol. I p. 768. Gregory, *Textkritik*, p. 385: 'γυναικός, oder γυναικῶν'.

[84] A. Mandeson, *Τέλειο ελληνο-αγγλικό λεξικό.* (Αθήνα: Διαγόρας, n.d.), p. 886 (of 1318).

[85] A. Mazarakis, *Ἀνθολόγιον περιέχον τάσ ἐν τῷ μηνολόγιῳ ἀκολουθίας.* (*Βενέτια:* ἐκ τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ τυπογραφείου *ὁ Φοίνιξ*, 1882), pp. 32, 63, 409.

[86] Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 692; *Textkritik*, p. 340.

[87] Gregory, *Prolegomena*, pp. 695–777; A.P. Wikgren, 'The Lectionary Text of the Pericope, John 8:1–11', *JBL* 53 (1934), p. 189.

[88] These data confirm the impression of Robinson, 'Preliminary observations', p. 44 n. 21: 'Most Menologion lectionaries read the PA in honor of Pelagia, followed in equal proportion by Theodora, Mary of Egypt and Euphemia.'

and sometimes (*bisweilen*) on Barbara's day.[89] For this moment these statistics may suffice.

The Holy Women, Nuns and the *Pericope Adulterae*

At the Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament in 2017, Jennifer Knust and Tommy Wasserman announced the forthcoming publication of their monograph dedicated to the *PA*.[90] In anticipation of this volume, I will therefore limit myself to mentioning a few matters of detail concerning the veneration of female penitents, in particular nuns.

Pelagia

Saint Pelagia is often regarded as having played a key role in the reception of the *PA*. More than a century ago, Burgon claimed that the *PA* served as the lesson for Pelagia's feast day (8 October) as early as the fifth century. Burgon even affirms: 'The great Eastern Church speaks out on this subject in a voice of thunder'.[91] This view still has its supporters,[92] but it is untenable given the silence in fifth- to seventh-century sources. According to the tradition, the former courtesan Pelagia died as a penitent in 457 in Jerusalem, where she was honoured from the mid-sixth century onwards. In Constantinople the church dedicated to her was destroyed during the reign of Constantine V (Copronimus). We do not know whether or not the *PA* was read on the day of her festival in the first years of her veneration in Con-

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[89] Gregory, *Textkritik*, pp. 367, 372.

[90] Jennifer Wright Knust and Tommy Wasserman, *To Cast the First Stone: The Transmission of a Gospel Story*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019. I wish to thank the authors for allowing me to read an early version of the chapter 'The significance of the liturgy in the textual transmission of the Pericope of the Adulteress'.

[91] J.W. Burgon, *The Causes of the Corruption of the Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels* (London: Bell, 1896), pp. 259–261.

[92] For example: G.M. Burge, 'A Specific Problem in the New Testament Text and Canon: The Woman Caught in Adultery (John 7:53–8:11)', *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 27 (1984), p. 148: 'On Saint Pelagia's Day (October 8) our story became the gospel text in most fifth-century lectionaries.' More recently, see Punch, 'The Piously Offensive Pericope Adulterae', p. 29.

stantinople. There are two indications that a lesson about an anointing penitent was originally read:

(1) Matthaei quoted the following note from a Synaxarion with regard to the commemoration of Pelagia: Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν. Κεφ. οδ.[93] This is a reference to the Eusebian section 74. The lesson is taken from Luke 7:36–50, the anointing in the house of Simon the Pharisee.

(2) In the Milanese liturgy, Matthew 26:6–14 is read on the feast of Pelagia (8 October), which is the anointing in the house of Simon the Leper.[94]

Mary of Egypt

The fifth-century Mary of Egypt was a prostitute from Alexandria. She travelled to Jerusalem and there wanted to enter into the church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, but some power held her back. She prayed to the icon of the Mother of God, whereupon she obtained admittance to the church. Afterwards she lived as a penitent in the desert for 47 years. Her biography was written in the seventh century and is generally attributed to Sophronius, the bishop of Jerusalem, who died in 638 CE.[95] In the discussion of icons in the eighth century, reference is made to the *Life of Mary of Egypt*.[96] The iconophile John of Damascus extensively quoted from this *Life* to defend the use of icons. The quotation ends with the final words of Mary's prayer to the icon: 'Glory to God, who received the repentance of sinners through you'.[97] Mary's *Life* is also quoted by the fathers of the council of Nicaea in 787 CE.[98] Furthermore, it is read on the Thursday of the fifth week in the Great Lent, during the recitation of the Great Canon of Repentance of Andrew of Crete.[99] From the eleventh century onwards,

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[93] Matthaei, *Evangelium secundum Iohannem*, p. 143.

[94] *Missale Ambrosianum* (Milan: Antonius Zarottus, 1475), f. 172 verso. *Editio princeps*: GW M24203 (*Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*. Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1925–; http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/).

[95] *PG* 87.3, col. 3697–3726.

[96] Nilles, *Kalendarium*, vol. 1 p. 131.

[97] *PG* 94, col. 1279, 1415–1418: δόξα τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ διὰ σοῦ δεχομένῳ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τὴν μετάνοιαν.

[98] J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. (31 vols; Florence: Zatta, 1759–1796), vol. 13 pp. 85–89.

[99] Συνέκδημος, pp. 356–384; *PG* 97, col. 1329–1386.

the next Sunday was dedicated to the memory of Mary of Egypt.[100] Owing to Mary's commemoration, the saint is the clearest example of a penitent in Lenten time.[101] On the frequent occasions when April 1st precedes Easter, churchgoers would hear the *PA* in Lenten time.

There is one slight indication that originally this lesson was taken from Luke. Matthaei records the alternative lesson of Luke 7:36–50 for Mary of Egypt. In his manuscript k (GA 241) the reference to Luke consists of the number λγ (33) of the Byzantine ἀναγνώσματα.[102] GA 241 is an early witness (eleventh century) to von Soden's K^r. The increasing popularity of Mary of Egypt seems to have paved the way for the reception of the *PA* as a liturgical lesson. The same applies to devotion to Pelagia, Theodora and other female saints.

Euphemia

In the early seventh century the relics of Saint Euphemia of Chalcedon were transferred to Constantinople and placed in the church of the Hippodrome. The church with the relics was destroyed by Constantine V and restored by Eirene.[103] In 1942 it was excavated and mural paintings of Euphemia's life and martyrdom were rediscovered. A similar cycle of paintings existed in the saint's church in Chalcedon. Asterius of Amasea (circa 330–410 CE) describes it in a sermon on Euphemia.[104] Asterius' account was read at length at the council of Nicaea in 787 CE to justify the use of icons.[105]

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[100] Edelby, *Liturgicon*, p. 111.

[101] The *Life* figures prominently in copies of the *Panegyrikon*, a book that contains homilies and saints' lives, usually to be read in the morning-prayers. J. Lena, 'The Panegyrikon Codex Type and its Liturgical Function. A New Catalogue Model' (unpubl. diss., Amsterdam, 2017), pp. 233, 234, 803, 833–835, 922.

[102] Matthaei, *Evangelium secundum Iohannem*, p. 143.

[103] Neander, *Allgemeine Geschichte*, vol. 2 p. 121; A.M. Schneider, 'Das Martyrion der Hl. Euphemia beim Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 42 (1942), p. 184; Theis, *Female Founders*, p. 70.

[104] *PG* 40, col. 333–338.

[105] Mansi, *Collectio*, vol. 13 pp. 15–18, 305–310.

An Interim Conclusion

The destruction of the churches of Euphemia and Pelagia demonstrates that iconoclasm did not favour devotion to female saints. The iconophiles' appeal to Euphemia and Mary of Egypt to substantiate their opinion did not aid their popularity. As the veneration of Pelagia and Mary of Egypt was discouraged, the reading of the *PA* as a lesson on their festival days also was hindered during the iconoclast troubles in the eighth and ninth centuries. Iconoclasm continued to have a negative influence after the Triumph of Orthodoxy in 843 CE. Consequently, the insertion of the *PA* in the Byzantine gospel text remained a difficult process in the tenth and eleventh centuries. As late as the early twelfth century, the Byzantine theologian Euthymius Zigabenus interpreted the obeli accompanying the *PA* in manuscripts as signs of doubt concerning its authenticity or canonicity.[106] Obviously, as late as the early twelfth century the orthodox victory was not yet complete.

Thus, the insertion of the *PA* in the Byzantine gospel text was a difficult process. It is this (and especially the overcoming of the difficulties) that is reflected in the obeli added to the *PA* in the manuscripts of group K^r. They express the joy over the acceptance of the pericope.

THE LECTIONARY THEORY SHOULD BE ABANDONED

J.W. Burgon was an early proponent of the lectionary theory explaining the omission of the *PA* from the Fourth Gospel. In 1871 he tried to prove that Mark 16:9–20 was part of the original text of that Gospel.[107] One of his arguments was that the lectionary system of the early Church occasioned the omission of Mark's Longer Ending in GA 01, 02, 03, 04 and 05.[108] Since F.J.A. Hort contested Burgon's view, the latter's opinion was generally rejected.[109] To strengthen his argument, Burgon mentioned other passages that had become victims of the lectionary system, including the Bloody Sweat and the *PA*. In his view, GA 01 and 02 omit the Bloody Sweat because, according to 'the Lectionary practice of the primitive church', the

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[106] Donaldson, 'Explicit References', pp. 203–204, 433.

[107] J.W. Burgon, *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark Vindicated against Recent Critical Objectors and Established* (Oxford: Parker, 1871).

[108] Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, p. 217.

[109] Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament*, pp. 30, 49.

passage was added in Matthew's text in the lesson of the Thursday of Holy Week and omitted from the lesson of the Tuesday after Sexagesima.[110] The example of the *PA* is presented by Burgon between brackets. He does not insist that the absence of the *PA* from so many manuscripts is to be explained in precisely the same way as that of the Bloody Sweat, but that 'is only because the genuineness of that portion of the Gospel is generally denied'. Burgon is reluctant 'to set foot on disputed ground'. Yet he goes on to say:

> I am convinced, nevertheless, that the first occasion of the omission of those memorable verses was the lectionary practice of the primitive Church, which, on Whitsunday, read from S. John vii. 37 to viii. 12, *leaving out the twelve verses* in question.[111]

After Burgon's death in 1888, his treatise on the *PA* was published by E. Miller. Burgon tried to prove the Johannine authenticity of the *PA* by arguing that the passage was used as the lesson for the commemoration of Pelagia and 'that the pericope was recognised by the ancient Eastern Church as an integral part of the Gospel'.[112] Remarkably, he remains silent about the possibility that the omission of the *PA* in manuscripts was caused by lectionary practice. I am inclined to suggest that this implies Burgon's abandoning of the lectionary theory.

The heart of the lectionary theory is the supposition of a second-century lectionary system that would have resembled the Byzantine lectionary, especially with regard to the lesson of Pentecost. In that system, the *PA* would have had to be omitted in order to create the required lesson. However, the hypothesis of the existence of such a very ancient system is untenable.[113] In a fundamental article on the development of the lectionary system, Klaus Junack concluded:

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[110] Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, pp. 217–218.

[111] Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses*, p. 219 (emphasis original).

[112] Burgon, *The Causes*, p. 261.

[113] Recently, the lectionary theory was contested by Keith, 'The Pericope Adulterae', pp. 104–105 note 67.

> Dieses [Byzantine] Lesesystem is mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit erst im Laufe des 7. Jhs. zu seiner Ausformung gelangt und kann uns daher nur in den Hss vom 8. Jh. an überliefert sein.[114]

It is true that some lessons of the Byzantine system have their origin in older traditions, in particular the Jerusalem liturgy. The Byzantine lesson of Hebrews 9:1–7, read at the feast of the Entrance of Mary into the Temple on 21 November, for example, originated in the liturgy for the dedication of the New Church of Mary on 21 November 543 CE by Emperor Justinian I. The feast was introduced in Constantinople in the early eighth century.[115] The Jerusalem feasts of Pelagia and Mary of Egypt may have been adopted in the Byzantine liturgy more quickly. The *PA*, too, may have been introduced in Jerusalem earlier than in Constantinople.

However, this does not matter as there would still be no evidence for a second-century origin of the Byzantine lectionary and, as a result, no ground either for the lectionary theory concerning the *PA*. Nor does the skipping of the *PA* in the Byzantine Pentecost lesson provide any indication of the existence of an early lectionary. Of course, the same can be said with regard to the marking of the *PA* with obeli by the scribes of the manuscripts in group K^r. These signs have not been added for liturgical rubrication, nor to express doubt about the authenticity of the Story of the Adulteress. The obeli in K^r are remnants, transmitted from manuscripts which had been copied when the passage was not yet generally accepted: in consequence, they are witnesses of a Byzantine text from which the *PA* was lacking.

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[114] K. Junack, 'Zu den griechischen Lektionaren und ihrer Überlieferung der Katholischen Briefe', in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testamentes, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. K. Aland (ANTF 5; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1972), p. 542. The essence of Junack's view has recently been confirmed by S. Ovsiannikov, 'The Paschal Spiral and Different Types of Byzantine and Slavonic Lectionaries', in Spronk, *Challenges*, p. 133; A.A. Alexeev, 'On Jerusalem Vestiges of the Byzantine Gospel Lectionary', in Spronk, *Challenges*, pp. 173–174.

[115] Van Lopik, 'Licht', p. 58. For other examples and a general introduction, see Alexeev, 'On Jerusalem Vestiges', pp. 173–182.

7. 'Full of the Holy Spirit and Wisdom': Variation in Theological Titles in the Greek Lectionary of Acts.

Samuel Gibson

Methods and Issues

In this paper, I will explore textual variation in divine names and titles (Jesus, Christ, God, Lord) as transmitted in lectionary witnesses to the text of Acts. In particular, I would like to use these variants to outline some key debates in lectionary studies past and present, and to provide some insight into the kinds of evidence—textual and codicological—that informs these discussions.

So far, concerted attention to the transmission of proper nouns invested with theological import has only been directed towards earlier stages of the textual tradition. For instance, in his 2014 study of such variants in the early text of Acts, Hurtado writes that:

> At a number of points in the text of Acts, ancient readers were presented with ambiguities, especially whether the referent was God or Jesus, and the variants at these points reflect readers' efforts to judge the matter.[1]

Interest in textual variation of this kind is spurred by an increased appreciation of the theological background of scribal activity, attention to scribal habits and consideration of the historical context of textual transmission,

[1] L.W. Hurtado, 'God or Jesus? Textual Ambiguity and Textual Variants in Acts of the Apostles', in *Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of J. Keith Elliott*, ed. P. Doble and J. Kloha (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 254.

including possible reader-response, as well as the clarification, editing or improvement of texts.[2] Although the witnesses that are called 'Byzantine' have not warranted many detailed studies of this kind, there is now an increasing interest in exactly these issues with regards to later texts. Not only is this prompted by questions about the production of biblical and liturgical codices and the reception of the New Testament in later centuries, but also by renewed interest in the Byzantine text itself. How did it develop? By what copying processes did a common text emerge? What historical factors motivated or encouraged its emergence?

Meanwhile in lectionary studies, the central issue which has preoccupied scholarship since the influential mid-twentieth-century Chicago Studies has been the existence or otherwise of a 'lectionary text'.[3] In the last major study of Acts in the Greek lectionary, produced in 1963, Ericsson writes that:

> one may properly speak of 'the lectionary text' as a distinct entity … the lectionaries, as a family, associate themselves most closely with von Soden's I^{a3} group', while it has a 'minority' strain that is 'not possible to define … with precision. It has both Alexandrian and Western affinities.[4]

In the case of both the Gospel and Apostolos traditions, it was believed that it was possible to discover a discrete text type or trajectory, as one lec-

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[2] For an overview of these developments, especially on the disputed authorship/scribal activity spectrum see for example, M.W. Holmes, 'From 'Original Text to Initial Text': The Traditional Goal of New Testament Textual Criticism in Contemporary Discussion' in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. B.D. Ehrman and M.W. Holmes, (2nd edn; Leiden: Brill, 2013) especially pp. 668–670. In lectionary studies, Jordan helpfully inverts the question of scribal engagement/motivation for the creation of variant readings, focusing less on scribal psychology and more on the liturgical experience of sensible variants. See C.R.D. Jordan, 'The Textual Tradition of the Gospel of John in Greek Gospel Lectionaries from the Middle Byzantine Period' (unpubl. diss., University of Birmingham, 2009), pp. 227–243.

[3] On the Chicago Studies, see the contribution by Paulson to the present volume.

[4] D.E. Ericsson, 'The Book of Acts in the Greek New Testament' (unpubl. diss., University of Chicago, 1961), pp. 72–73.

tionary codex provided the source for another over the centuries, preserving a particular lectionary majority tradition that could be defined over against the general Byzantine tradition. Such a view was also indebted to archetypal theories of manuscript production.[5] Ericsson, for example, sees the Acts lections in terms of a single recension that occurred in the fifth century and was then transmitted from one manuscript to another.[6]

In *The Living Text of the Gospels*, Parker summed up the classic view of the 'lectionary text' as it then stood:

> The lectionary text is not identical with the Byzantine text of the minuscules. The two had separate lives, for lectionaries were usually copied from lectionaries and continuous text manuscripts from continuous text manuscripts.[7]

In the intervening decades, investigators of the gospel lectionary tradition have provided strong evidence against this hitherto dominant 'lectionary text' hypothesis. For instance, in his 2011 thesis on John, Jordan points towards the continued dependence in terms of structure and variant readings of gospel lectionary codices on their Tetraevangelion counterparts.[8] Similarly, my own research found that most Apostolos manuscripts were copied continuously from continuous text Praxapostolos exemplars over the centuries. So, while Acts lections are very much present in the marginal apparatus of earlier codices, the Apostolos lectionary as a discrete codex is the

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[5] M. Lyon-Dolezal, 'The Elusive Quest for the "Real Thing": The Chicago Lectionary Project Thirty Years On', *Gesta* 35.2 (1996) 128–141.

[6] Ericsson, 'Book of Acts', p. 74. There is minimal evidence for this. As Osburn observes, 'More work is needed on the relationship between lectionaries and the liturgical tradition.' (C.D. Osburn, 'The Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament' in Ehrman and Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 109.

[7] D.C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), p. 12. By quoting Parker in this manner I do not assume that this is his current view. Nevertheless, the metaphor of 'separate lives' for lectionary and continuous text traditions is helpful.

[8] For key textual conclusions regarding the New Testament text see Jordan, 'Greek Gospel Lectionaries', pp. 342–351, 520–524. G.E. Kellett also follows a comparative approach in 'Synaxarion Lectionary Influences in the Gospels: A Study of the Interrelationship between Lectionary and Continuous Text Manuscripts' (unpubl. diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2007).

product of the post-Iconoclast era (after 843 CE). In general, the same variant readings appear in lectionary witnesses and continuous text Byzantine minuscules, albeit with notable exceptions. Textual subdivision runs across lectionary and non-lectionary traditions, and rarely between codex types. Even more significantly, the boundaries between lectionary and continuous-text codices appear to be more fluid than previously thought. For example, almost half (47%) of minuscule Praxapostolos codices documented in the *Liste* contain liturgical apparatus that would enable the production of lectionaries, if not their actual recitation in the liturgy.[9] It seems that the 'lives' of the two traditions were closely intertwined. Consequently, the question of the 'lectionary text' is in fact uniquely related to that of the wider Byzantine text and its history.

As well as to restate the evidence, a key reason I have rehearsed these debates is to indicate why it might be worth picking up the mantle that Hurtado and others offer in the study of theological variants in Acts and applying it to the lectionary tradition. Initially, these variant readings do not seem particularly weighty, especially when simply transmitted as the 'afterlife' of earlier strata of the textual tradition. However, there are three key questions that this evidence may answer, each of which is of significance for lectionary studies.

1. **What is the relationship of the 'lectionary text', or rather the texts discovered in Acts lections, to the continuous-text tradition, either that of 'Byzantine' minuscules or earlier witnesses?**
   Variation in divine names and titles assists in answering this question for two key reasons. First, the brevity of these variation units makes it possible to transcribe them in a larger number of witnesses than would otherwise be possible. This gives a greater overview of the state of the whole tradition than would be provided, for instance, by the kind of lection-by-lection method advocated by Colwell at the advent of the Chicago Studies.[10] Second, this in turn al-

[9] S. Gibson, 'The Liturgical and Textual Tradition of Acts and Paul in the Byzantine Apostolos Lectionary.' (unpubl. diss., University of Birmingham, 2016), p. 14; see now S. Gibson, *The Apostolos: The Acts and Epistles in Byzantine Liturgical Manuscripts* (Piscataway NJ: Gorgias, 2018).

[10] E.C. Colwell, 'Method in the Study of the Text of the Gospel Lectionary' in *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels*, ed. E.C. Colwell and D.W.

lows the investigation of subgroups while also illustrating the 'mixed' nature of the lectionary tradition and how this appears overall.

2. **In what sense, if any, can the lectionary be described as a 'living text'?**
   For instance, is there a distinctive set of lectionary scribal habits, either in the tradition as a whole or among particular lectionaries? Do lectionary copyists treat theological issues in a particular way, or is there evidence of unique lectionary variants? Since it is known that some instances of variation in theological titles were invested with significance by patristic writers, it is not excessively speculative to imagine that at least some Byzantines might have had similar concerns. It is reasonable to expect that the lectionary's treatment of God, Jesus and so on would be a window on to any patterns of theological variation if they exist.[11] On one level both this aspect and that of the 'lectionary text' may appear to beg the question, inasmuch as it is seeking evidence within predetermined criteria. Nevertheless, since earlier scholarship has set these parameters it is important to test them to see what is really at stake in lectionary research.
3. **How does the lection apparatus of different Byzantine codex types aid the transmission of variants?**
   It is now possible to find witnesses to numerous variants found in the lectionary in continuous-text codices containing lection apparatus. This phenomenon is partially documented below. While it is difficult at this stage to identify direct relatives or archetypes, this comparative method provides much greater insight into the nature of the lectionary. It allows an accurate description of the lectionary, as a continual '(re)composition' of biblical and liturgical texts from several sources, often stored at close quarters in monastic institutions.[12] Once again, variation in theological titles can be easily

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Riddle (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933).

[11] B.D. Ehrman, 'The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity', in Ehrman and Holmes, *The Text of the New Testament*, pp. 803–830; D.C. Parker, 'Jesus in Textual Criticism', In *Manuscripts, Texts, Theology: Collected Papers 1977–2007* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), p. 310.

[12] K. Spronk, G. Rouwhorst and S. Royé, 'The CBM Publication Plan' in *Cata-*

> mapped across a range of codex-types to illustrate this process of composition. In exploring the lection apparatus in this way, I build on the work done by W.J. Elliott, who identifies the same pattern of lection apparatus in continuous-text codices, but leaves its meaning open to further discussion.[13]

Clearly, these questions can neither be exhaustively asked nor definitively answered here. Nevertheless, these three key issues—the question of the lectionary text, its possible nature as a 'living text', and the exploration of lectionary apparatus—will inform the following exploration. Such theological variants in Acts provide a helpful window through which one can view a manageable portion of the relevant data, which is otherwise too extensive or complex to discuss with brevity.

VARIANT READINGS AND WITNESSES

In this study six variation units are examined in at least fifteen Apostolos witnesses, none of which was used in the preparation of UBS5. This is particularly important to provide a corrective where UBS5 may misrepresent the lectionary tradition.

All of the lectionary witnesses listed below are 'A' or 'EA' type codices which present weekday as well as Saturday and Sunday lections in the Acts (Pascha) season of the Synaxarion cycle.[14] The selected codices are widely dispersed geographically and chronologically in order to provide as representative a sample as possible. Currently there is little clear historical information about the exchange and distribution of lectionaries and liturgical codices in Byzantium and its environs.

L23 [XI] (London, British Library, Cotton Vesp. B.18)
L112 [XI] (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 24)

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logue of Byzantine Manuscripts in their Liturgical Context: Challenges and Perspectives. (CBM Subsidia 1, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), p. 302.

[13] W.J. Elliott, 'How to Change a Continuous Text Manuscript into a Lectionary Text', in *Texts and Traditions: Essays in Honour of J. Keith Elliott*, ed. P. Doble and J. Kloha (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 370–375.

[14] A='Apostolos'; EA='Evangelio-Apostolos' (i.e., a manuscript containing Acts. Epistle and Gospel lections), using the CBM terminology. See Spronk et al, 'CBM Publication Plan', p. 296.

L162 [XII] (Glasgow, Hunter Library, 406)
L173 [X] (St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Gr. 57)
L421 [XII] (Athens, National Library of Greece 199)
L587 [XI] (Athens, National Library of Greece 205)
L594 [XV] (Athens, National Library of Greece 114)
L604 [XII] (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, S. Marco 704)
L610 [XV] (Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, Gr. 295)
L1141 [XII] (Athos, Vatopedi 925)
L1300 [XI] (Jerusalem Patriarchate, Stavru 67)
L1442 [XI] (Sinai, St Catherine's Monastery, Gr. 292)
L1894 [XIV] (Athens, Benaki Museum, MS. TA 271)
L2010 [XV] (Athens, National Library of Greece 2010)
L2024 [XI] (Athens, Benaki Museum, MS. TA 247)

Of the units detailed below, six can be found in previous doctoral research[15]—though to these, some new witnesses have been added—while another six are new to the current study. Each unit has been selected with a different kind of variation in mind. Some are instances where there is a clear 'Byzantine' majority reading against a number of, or indeed the majority of, lectionaries. Others, following the precedent of Wachtel's study of Byzantine subvariants,[16] are places where either one or both of the Byzantine continuous-text and lectionary traditions divide. Each of these helps to clarify the place of the lectionary in the developing Byzantine tradition.

Table 1 below displays each of the variation units examined. Six additional variation units not discussed here are also shown (Acts 8:39; 16:31; 16:32; 20:28; 20:32), indicating that this is but a small selection of the total number of 'theological title' variants. The third column documents the supposed nature of the textual variation before the collation of further witnesses (for example, VU2—the Byzantine (Byz) majority vs. (Lect), the supposed majority reading of all lectionary witnesses). The fourth column indicates whether or not this variation unit was recorded in the apparatus of UBS5. The final column gives the presumed initial text reading.

[15] S. Gibson, 'Byzantine Apostolos Lectionary', Appendix 2 (pp. 322–342).

[16] K. Wachtel, 'Early Variants in the Byzantine Text of the Gospels', in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies*, ed. J.W. Childers and D.C. Parker (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2006), pp. 28–47.

VU	Work ID	Variation type	UBS5	Editorial text
1	4:24	Byz Lect vs. some lects	Yes	συ (Byz: συ ο θεος)
2	4:25	Byz Lect vs. one lect	Yes	δια πνευματος αγιου στοματος δαυιδ παιδος σου
3	6:5	Byz vs. two lects	No	πληρης πιστεως και πνευματος αγιου
4	6:7	Byz Lect vs. Byz MSS	Yes	ο λογος του θεου
5	8:39	Byz Lect vs. witnesses	Yes	Πνευμα
6	10:33	Byz Lect vs. Byz witnesses	Yes	τα προστεταγμενα σοι υπο του κυριου
7	10:48	Byz and Lect divide, both against IT	Yes	εν τω ονοματι ιησου χριστου βαπτισθηναι
8	16:31	Byz vs. IT	No	πιστευσον επι τον κυριον ιησουν
9	16:32	Byz Lect vs. one lect	Yes	τον λογον του κυριου
10	20:28	Byz^{pt}, Lect maj vs. Byz and lect MSS	Yes	την εκκλησιαν του θεου
11	20:32	Byz Lect vs. some lects	No	παρατιθημαι υμας τω θεω
12	20:35	Byz vs. Byz witnesses	No	των λογων του κυριου ιησου

Table 1: Select Acts 'Theological Title' Variation Units

ANALYSIS OF VARIATION UNITS

The data examined here includes: i) the lectionary witnesses collated; ii) the readings of the major editions, including some 'Byzantine text' printed editions; iii) the known continuous-text (CT) witnesses to each reading; iv) continuous-text witnesses which are known to contain lection apparatus; v) some patristic witnesses to each Byzantine subreading where available. Both the addition of patristic witnesses and the particular location of variants in specific continuous-text Praxapostoloi containing lection apparatus are developments on my previous writing on this topic. The latter aids the visualisation of the 'life' of the text in real codices, since the reader can investigate each document and its liturgical/textual traditions further if desired. This method is not intended to be exhaustive and is open to further refinement.

Many of the Byzantine witnesses selected are minuscules known or assumed to belong to von Soden's K^{r} group in the Gospels, which postdates the eleventh century,[17] while others are majuscules belonging to earlier stag-

[17] H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in Ihrer Ältesten Erreichbaren Textgestalt Hergestellt auf Grund Ihrer Textgeschichte.* (Berlin: Arthur Glaue, 1907), vol. 2 pp. 755–757; see also van Lopik's contribution to the present volume.

es of the transmission of the Byzantine text, or else tenth-century minuscules which appear to transmit the 'K^{x}' majority or generic Byzantine tradition. Each of these alleged subgroupings comes to be present in Acts lections.

Acts 4:24

a) δεσποτα συ ο ποιησας
Editions: ANT[18] NA28
CT with apparatus: 307 ([XI] catena, f.38v); 614 ([XIII] f.14r);[19] 945 ([XI] EA, alternate lection type, f.184r)
Citations: *Vita Sancti Auxibii*.[20]

b) δεσποτα συ ο θεος ο ποιησας
Editions: PR[21] SAL[22] TR[23]
Lectionaries: L23 L60 L156 L162 L164 L165 L168 L169 L587 L610 L809 L1021 L1141 L1159 L1178 L1282 L1364 L1439 L1440 L1590 L1825 L2024 L2058
CT with apparatus: 326 ([X] f.7v)[24]
Citations: *Catena in Acta*;[25] John Chrysostom;[26] Asterius.[27]

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[18] Commonly known as the Patriarchal edition, or Antoniades (ANT). *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη ἐγκρίσει τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας*. (Constantinople, 1904).

[19] See A.V. Valentine-Richards, ed., *The Text of Acts in Codex 614 (Tisch. 137) and its Allies* (Cambridge: CUP, 1934).

[20] P. Van Deun and J. Noret, eds, *Hagiographica Cypria: Sancti Barnabae laudatio auctore Alexandro monacho, Sanctorum Bartholomaei et Barnabae vita e menologio imperiali deprompto, vita sancti Auxibii*. (CCSG 26; Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), p. 238.

[21] M.A. Robinson and W.G. Pierpont, eds, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Byzantine Textform*. (2nd edn, Southborough, MA: Chilton, 2005).

[22] M.I. Σαλίβερος, ed. *Απόστολος ήτοι Πράξεις και Επιστολαί των Αγιών Αποστόλων Καθ' όλον το έτος επ' Εκκλησίας Αναγινωσκόμεναι* (Athens, 1921).

[23] Using M.A. Robinson, *Scrivener's Textus Receptus (1894) with Morphology*. (Logos Research Systems, 2002)

[24] C. von Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece Ad Antiquissimos Testes Denuo Recensui. Editio Octava Maior* (Leipzig: Winter, 1869), vol. 2 p. 34.

[25] J.A. Cramer, *Catena in Acta SS. Apostolorum e Cod. Nov. Coll.* (Oxford: OUP, 1838), an edition based on the witness GA 2818 ([XII] Oxford, New College 58). This manuscript does not contain lection apparatus.

[26] *In acta apostolorum* 11 (*PG* 60, col. 93).

c) δεσποτα συ ει ο θεος ο ποιησας
Lectionaries: L173 L1300 L1506 L1685 L1894
CT with apparatus: 429 ([XIV] f.8v)

d) δεσποτα κυριε ο θεος ο ποιησας
Lectionaries: L1188
CT: 181 ([X] f.18r)

e) δεσποτα κυριε ο ποιησας
Lectionaries: L1297

f) omitted: L1126

In this first variation unit the exegetical issue is the form of address Peter and John use in prayer.[28] Reading a), 'Sovereign Lord, you are the creator …', is given a {B} rating by the UBS committee on the grounds of the priority of the shortest reading.[29] This reading currently has no lectionary witnesses, which is surprising since it is present in several Praxapostolos witnesses with lection apparatus. These include GA 307, a catena manuscript with visible lection identifiers in the left margin, and the thirteenth-century minuscule 614, whose text is regarded as close to that of Codex Bezae. Given its later date and its apparatus, it is likely that reading a) is likely to be present in Apostolos codices not yet transcribed. The Byzantine majority reading b), adding ὁ θεός, is found in twenty-two lectionary witnesses and is also present in GA 326, a tenth-century minuscule containing lection apparatus. It was evidently a variant that arose reasonably early in the development of the Byzantine text as it is present in the *Catena* on Acts and in the homilies attributed to a certain Asterius, likely composed between 385 and 410.[30] The clarifying reading c), 'you are the God who made …' could easily

[27] M. Richard, ed., *Asterii Sophistae Commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt accedunt aliquot homiliae anonymae* (Oslo: Brøgger, 1956), Homily 2: 4,2.

[28] See for example F.F. Bruce, *Book of the Acts* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), p. 98.

[29] B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament.* (2nd rev. edn; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), p. 279.

[30] W. Kinzig, *In Search of Asterius: Studies on the Authorship of the Homilies on the Psalms.* (Forschungen zur Kirchen und Dogmengeschichte 47. Göttingen: Vanden-

have arisen within the continuous-text tradition and passed into the lectionary. Five Apostolos witnesses read c) along with GA 429, a fourteenth-century minuscule with lection apparatus. The mixed dates of these Apostolos witnesses suggests that the clarifying subreading c) was present in the tradition from at least the tenth century onwards.

Reading d), κυριε ο θεος, appears to be another subreading with a long afterlife. The tenth-century minuscule 181 is a witness to this variant, while L1188 is dated to the fourteenth century. Here the evidence shows us the mechanism by which this subreading could have passed into L1188 and other witnesses, but there are obviously multiple relatives in-between.

Within this variation unit at Acts 4:24 there is no consistent theological tendency that is unique to the lectionary: rather, it reflects the developing Byzantine tradition. Evidently reading b) developed early and was theologically significant insofar as clarifying God as the subject was a form of reverence, from which other such expansions followed naturally. The lectionary reflects this process, but the presence of both a majority reading and several minority readings is indicative of its continued descent from continuous text witnesses containing lection apparatus, rather than a 'lectionary text' as such.

Acts 4:25

(a) ο του πατρος ημων δια πνευματος αγιου στοματος δαβιδ παιδος σου
Editions: NA28
Lectionaries: L60 L1178
CT with apparatus: 33 [IX]; 307 [XI]; 1175 ([X] f.14r); 1739 ([X] marginal commentary, f.4v)
Citations: *Catena in Acta*.[31]

(b) ο δια στοματος δαβιδ παιδος σου
Editions: PR ANT
Lectionaries: L156 L809 L23 L162 L604 L164 L1506* L1141 L169 L1300 L587 L610 L1159* L1364 L1590 L1282 L1439
CT with apparatus: 424 ([XI] catena, f.27v); 181 ([X] f.18r); 614 [XIII]

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hoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), p. 227.

[31] Cramer, *Catena in Acta*, 78:25,29.

(c) ο δια στοματος δαβιδ του παιδος σου
Editions: TR SAL
Lectionaries: L1021 L2024 L173 L1506c L1894 L1188 L1685 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1159c L1440
CT with apparatus: 326 ([X] as above); 1505 ([XIII] f.112v)

(d) omitted: L1126

In Acts 4:25, lectionary witnesses transmit three out of four major variant versions of the phrase which introduces a quotation from Psalm 2. The missing variant is that found in Codex Bezae and in some versions. Two lectionaries follow the initial text reading a) which is distinctive in being the longest of the variants. Reading a) can be seen in a number of continuous text minuscules of the ninth and tenth centuries possessing lection apparatus, including 33, 307, 1175 and 1739, the latter noted for its relationship to the text of Origen. As in the previous example, there is a probable route by which textual variants from patristic commentaries could pass into the lectionary tradition, illustrated by Image 1 below. As this image of the lection in question (Thursday, 2nd week of Pascha) from GA 1739 suggests, it is likely that Apostolos lectionaries would be prepared from the main body of biblical text in a commentary manuscript, yet since lemma and citations commentary sometimes interact, it is possible to see how—at some remove—a particular patristic reading could come to be present in a lectionary.

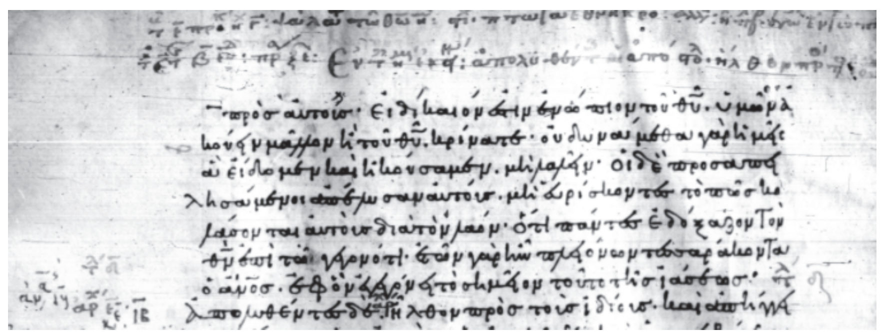


Image 1. GA 1739 (Athos Lavra B 64) f.4v

Reading b), 'by the mouth of David your servant', is the majority lectionary reading, but is also present in GA 424, an eleventh-century catena manuscript with lection apparatus as well as minuscules 181 and 614, of the tenth and thirteenth centuries respectively. Each of these states of text is present in the Byzantine tradition from at least the tenth century and probably earlier. Consequently, when discussing reading c), for example, with its addition of the definite article τοῦ παιδός as an expansive variant, it should be clear that this process of expansion was happening before the emergence of the Apostolos codex proper. The Apostolos then represents a series of underlying Byzantine subvariants as copied via the apparatus in other codex-types.

No one variant here can be thought of as the 'lectionary text'. Is it possible that the majority lectionary reading b) represents a developing scribal preference as the centuries go on? This is unlikely, first on the grounds of the apparatus evidence, which suggests that by far the easiest method—especially when faced by a complex lection system—is simply to copy the text of the exemplar; and second because, if L60 and L1178 are taken out of the picture, the Apostolos tradition divides evenly between variants b) and c), each of which was evidently available to lectionary copyists.

Acts 6:5

(a) πληρης πιστεως και πνευματος αγιου
Editions: NA28 PR
Lectionaries: L156 L809 L60 L23 L1178 L173 L162 L112 L604 L164 L1506 L257 L168 L1300 L610 L1685 L2058 L1440 L1590 L1281 L1282 L1439; L1126 [πληρις]
CT with apparatus: 181 ([X] f.20r); 307 ([X] f. 48v); 424 ([XI] f.32v); 1241 ([XII] f.120r); 460 ([XIII] polyglot, f. 35r)

(b) πληρη πιστεως και πνευματος αγιου
Editions: SAL ANT AD TR
Lectionaries: L2024 L1894 L1141 L1188 L1825 L1159 L1364
CT with apparatus: 1891 ([X] f.20r); 1409 ([XIV] f. 9r); 665 ([XIII] f.14v); 824 ([XIV] f.240v)

(c) πληρις πιστεως και πνευματος αγιου και σοφιας
Lectionaries: L1985 L1021

This verse presents three variant readings, two of which are purely grammatical in nature. There is evidence for both grammatical variants, a) and

b)—as in the previous examples—in both the lectionary and continuous-text traditions. In both cases the Byzantine subreadings coexist across the centuries and pass regularly into a diverse range of continuous-text witnesses. So, as witnesses to reading a) we have continuous-text manuscripts as different as GA 460, a twelfth-century Greek-Arabic-Latin polyglot, and 1241, a rather workaday minuscule with lection apparatus. For reading b), the chronological range is from GA 1891 in the tenth century to 824 in the fourteenth. Evidently, there was ample time for subvariants to pass through multiple exemplars before reaching their terminus in a lectionary codex and this is part of what makes constructing any 'lectionary text' so hazardous: it is a highly mixed tradition.

Meanwhile reading c), which repeats Acts 6:3 in adding 'and wisdom' to the description of Stephen, is the only substantive variant. It is curiously absent from the continuous-text witnesses so far surveyed and may indeed represent a liturgically-influenced repetition. As these two Apostolos witnesses are dated to the twelfth and fifteenth centuries respectively, there is an outlying possibility that this is so; equally, the repetition could be present in other codices not yet studied. In any case, what is clear is not a genuine principle of adaptation—which remains confined to incipits and similar—but perhaps a kind of scribal error.

Acts 6:7

a) ο λογος του θεου

Editions: NA28

Lectionaries: L23 L2024 L173 L162 L112 L604 L1141 L1300 L610 L1894 L1178 L421 L594

CT with apparatus: 429 ([XIV] f.11v); 1409 [XIV]; 1315 ([XII] f.198v)

Citations: *Catena in Acta*;[32] John Chrysostom.[33]

b) ο λογος του κυριου

CT with apparatus: 614 ([XIII] as above); 044 ([IX/X] f.111v); 05 ([apparatus VI/VII][34] f.435v)

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[32] Cramer, *Catena in Acta*, 101:8.

[33] *In acta apostolorum* 27 (*PG* 60, col. 205).

[34] D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text.* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), p. 44.

c) omitted: L1442=lac L587 alt lect L2010=lac

Acts 6:7 is the first of a series of variants in which the phrase 'the word of God' alternates with 'the word of the Lord'. This example differs from those presented so far in that the lectionary presents a unanimous witness to reading a), which is also the Byzantine majority reading, with the 'initial text' and against some earlier witnesses including Codex Bezae and GA 044 and later minuscule witnesses such as 614. All three of these codices contain lection apparatus which means that, following our present method, it might be expected that some Apostolos witnesses would transmit this reading. This is especially true given the ease with which a copyist might substitute a single word for another.

In fact, there are many places in the Apostolos tradition where early readings from continuous-text witnesses with lection apparatus do not make it into the extant lectionary tradition. Along with other evidence such as the high incidence of lacunae and the gradual standardisation of lection traditions across the centuries, such variants point to a situation whereby lectionaries are copied largely from their immediate continuous-text contemporaries. The intermittent interruption of this process, which is reflected in the range of sub-Byzantine variants present in typical lectionary witnesses, is caused by the use of older or exceptional exemplars. This helps to explain why a lectionary *may* contain an early reading, if some all or all of it was copied from a pre-tenth-century exemplar, but why, simultaneously, this is rarely the case.

Reading a) was evidently developing, as in the previous examples, in the patristic tradition represented by the *Catena in Acta* long before it came to be in continuous-text manuscripts with lection apparatus such as GA 429 and 1315.

Acts 10:48

(a) εν τω ονοματι του ιησου χριστου βαπτισθηναι
Editions: NA28
Lectionaries: L1188
CT with apparatus: 81 ([1044 CE] f.21v); 181 ([X] f.27r)
Citations: Cyril of Jerusalem.[35]

[35] *Catecheses ad Illuminandos* 3 (*PG* 33, col. 432).

(b) βαπτισθηναι εν τω ονοματι του κυριου
Editions: ANT SAL TR PR AD
Lectionaries: L156 L173 L112 L164 L1894 L168 L1300 L809 L1825 L2058; L165 [τωι]; L1021 [εις το ονομα]
CT with apparatus: 056 ([X] f.31v); 049 ([IX] f.18v); 020 [IX]; 330 ([X] f.172r); 459 ([XI] f.37r); 424 ([XI] catena, f.48v); 676 ([XIII] 194v)

(c) βαπτισθηναι εν τω ονοματι του κυριου ιησου
Lectionaries: L23 L1442 L162 L604 L1506 L1141 L1297 L1159 L1364 L1298 L1590 L1282 L1439 L594
CT with apparatus: 436 ([X] f. 31v); 1241 ([XII] f.123v);
Citations: Leo of Ohrid.[36]

(d) βαπτισθηναι εν τω ονοματι ιησου χριστου
Lectionaries: L60 L1178 L587 L2010 L1281; L1685 [omits εν]
CT with apparatus: 614 [XIII]; 1739 [X]; 1891 [X]
Citations: *Catena in Acta*;[37] John Chrysostom.[38]

(e) βαπτισθηναι εν τω ονοματι του κυριου ιησου χριστου
Lectionaries: L610
CT with apparatus: 05

(f) βαπτισθηναι εν τω ονοματι του θεου
Lectionaries: L170

This variation unit centres around the issue of baptism in the name of the Lord or Jesus Christ, with a conflated reading 'Lord Jesus Christ' and a singular reading 'God'. The Byzantine majority stands in favour of b), which is the shorter and more difficult reading of the three major alternatives. The majority of lectionaries follow the ninth-century majuscules such as GA 020, 056 and 049 in reading b), as well as a large number of minuscule witnesses including GA 330 and 676.

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[36] E. Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon von Ohrid (1037–1056): Leben und Werk: mit den Texten seiner bisher unedierten asketischen Schrift und seiner drei Briefe an den Papst.* (Bamberg, 2007), Epistle 3, p. 226.

[37] Cramer, *Catena in Acta*, 191:22.

[38] *In acta apostolorum* 24 (*PG* 60, col. 184).

Still, there is evidence for the initial text reading a) 'in the name of Jesus Christ baptised' in some eleventh-century minuscules with apparatus, and it appears in the relatively late L1188 from the fourteenth century. Reading c) 'in the name of the Lord Jesus', is also present as in a good proportion of lectionaries. That this variant is cited by Leo of Ohrid suggests that it was in circulation in eleventh-century witnesses of other kinds and was regularly transmitted to many lectionaries (fourteen—indeed a majority of the current sample). This is not a 'lectionary text' or evidence of a particular tendency, however, as it is present in minuscules with lection apparatus such as GA 436 from the tenth century and 1241 from the twelfth century. Another subreading, d), which transposes the position of βαπτισθῆναι, is present in the catena tradition and may have arisen in commentaries for clarification. It is transmitted through GA 1739 and some minuscules to five Apostolos witnesses. L610, meanwhile, is an outlier in favour of the reading of Codex Bezae. Once again, this variation unit shows no homogeneity in the lectionary in terms of Byzantine subreadings and even earlier readings, even where they are of theological import, but rather the adoption across the centuries of various readings present in exemplars.

Acts 20:28

(a) εκκλησιαν του θεου ... δια του αιματος του ιδιου

Editions: NA28

Lectionaries: L60

CT with apparatus: 1175 ([X] f.40r)

Citations: Acts of the Lateran Council.[39]

(b) εκκλησιαν του θεου ... δια του ιδιου αιματος

Editions: TR SAL

Lectionaries: L1021 L112 L1126* L169 L2010 L1825 L2058 L1297 L1439; L1895 [*επλεσιαν]

CT with apparatus: 142[XI]; 614 [XIII]; 1409 [XIV]; 459 ([XI] split lection, f.56v)

Citations: John Chrysostom;[40] Demetrius Cydones;[41] John of Damascus.[42]

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[39] R. Riedinger, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 1: 20, 24; 6: 414, 2.

[40] *In acta apostolorum* 44 (*PG* 60, col. 310).

[41] A. Koltsiou-Niketa. *Φουλγεντίου: Προς Πέτρον περί πίστεως*. (Thessaloniki: Pournaras, 1999), 62:22.

(c) εκκλησιαν του κυριου και θεου ... δια του ιδιου αιματος
Editions: AD ANT PR
Lectionaries: L156 L809 L23 L2024 L1178 L173 L1442 L162 L604 L1506 L1141 L1126c L165 L168 L1300 L587 L170 L610 L1685 L1159 L1440 L1364 L1298 L1590 L1282 L1281
CT with apparatus: 014 ([IX] f.37r); 020 [IX]; 82 ([X] catena, f.46r)

(d) εκκλησιαν του κυριου και θεου ... δια του αιματος του ιδιου
Lectionaries: L1188

(e) εκκλησιαν του κυριου ... δια του ιδιου αιματος
Lectionaries: L164
CT with apparatus: 05 [apparatus VI/VII]; 044 [IX]; 1739 [X]
Citations: Athanasius;[43] Didymus the Blind;[44] Theodoret of Cyrrhus.[45]

At Acts 20:28 it is largely accepted that the lectionary majority reading c) 'Church of the Lord and God' is conflated, but it is also present in several ninth and tenth century witnesses with apparatus, including GA 014 and 82. Lectionary scribes are here copying, once again, a subvariant present at least in the middle Byzantine era if not before, and not simply exercising a straightforward theological preference for a longer reading. Reading b), which appears to be theologically problematic, has many patristic witnesses in the early and middle Byzantine periods and is present in a range of minuscules. Reading b) continues to be transmitted in Apostolos witnesses, some as late as L2010 in the fifteenth century. L60 is a witness to the initial text reading a) with 1175 while L164 agrees with GA 05, 044 and a range of patristic and Byzantine authors.

Further evidence of dependence on Praxapostolos exemplars can be seen in the transmission of reading b), where some codices—both lectionary and continuous-text—transmit a division in the lection at verses 19–27 while others do not. Further work is required, but at this stage it appears that a much higher proportion of Apostolos codices containing the division

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[42] *Sacra parallela (fragmenta e. cod. Vat. gr. 1246)* 17 (*PG* 95, col. 1540).
[43] *Epistulae quattor ad Serapionem* 1 (*PG* 26, col. 544).
[44] *De trinitate* (*PG* 39, col. 621).
[45] *De sancta trinitate* (*PG* 75, col. 1185).

read b) and a number of other identifiable variants than those which do not. This phenomenon can be seen in the eleventh-century minuscule 459, where a *telos* marks the lection division in what is otherwise a witness written entirely in continuous-text form.

OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This brief tour through some variants in Acts yields provisional answers to our original questions.

1. Is there a lectionary text? Certainly, as far as theological titles and attributes go, there is no single textual trajectory from lectionary witness to lectionary witness. Rather, the lectionary of Acts reflects the whole range of the Byzantine tradition, presenting early and late subvariants and occasionally following earlier textual traditions. Close attention to the apparatus of continuous-text codices provides a historically plausible method by which this comes to be the case. To understand the text of lectionaries we must conduct a wide-ranging analysis of Byzantine variants in other sources and trace their development over the centuries.

2. In what sense is the lectionary a 'living text'? As far as the current textual evidence goes, there is no single identifiable lectionary tendency or set of scribal habits in the New Testament. This is not to say that alternatives such as 'the church of God' or the 'church of the Lord', or in whose name disciples were baptised, were unimportant to lectionary copyists. The range of subvariants points towards the opposite, especially as subreadings persist across the centuries. However, lectionary copyists in Acts were not, on the whole, responding on a sophisticated literary level to these texts. The small pieces of evidence, such as the repetition of 'holy spirit and wisdom' at Acts 6:5, is at most suggestive of a liturgical mindset. Does this mean that the lectionary is *not* a 'living text', or that it does not have a distinct 'life', to revisit Parker's terminology, as opposed to the continuous text tradition of Acts?

3. On the contrary—and in answer to the question **How does the lection apparatus of different Byzantine codex types aid the transmission of variants?**—the creativity and complexity of the apparatus used to compile and transmit lections suggests otherwise. The Byzantine lectionary of Acts is a sophisticated literary and liturgical composition, continually developing over the centuries and transmitting a range of biblical and liturgical texts. The process of unearthing the complex relationships that exist with other biblical-liturgical codex types has only just begun. This short survey alone indicates how variant readings found their way into, and likely between, commentary/catena, Apostolos, and Praxapostolos codices.

The Apostolos offers us snapshots of the Byzantine text of Acts as it may have developed in response to theological discussion and other factors, even if there are few unique lectionary variants. The use of continuous-text exemplars from preceding centuries to produce Apostolos manuscripts suggests that unusual variants may be found at some remove from their source. Furthermore, the nature of lectionary transmission means that later codices can be unexpected witnesses to earlier readings. As a result, as far as the ECM goal of tracing the 'textual history of the first millennium' goes, Acts lections will be useful in clarifying the development of the New Testament text in Byzantium.[46] A renewed emphasis on comparative, documentary research is sure to yield further useful data.

[46] Quotation from https://www.uni-muenster.de/INTF/ECM.html.

8. Is There Evidence For a Lectionary Text in Sahidic Coptic?

Matthias H.O. Schulz[1]

Introduction

Scriptural texts are one of the foundations of Christian liturgical life. As lections, hymns, parts of prayers, as mere allusions or citations, they are present in every divine service. Nevertheless, the exact form of such uses of the Bible may have been adapted in order to fit the liturgical context. Since research on the text of the New Testament in Coptic is still at a very early stage, the texts used in a liturgical context have not received much attention even though they may provide biblical scholarship with data not preserved otherwise.[2] Verses included in hymns or cited in homilies are certainly a promising field of research to fill gaps where a text is not preserved in continuous-text manuscripts. This is especially true for the Old Testament, whose transmission in all Coptic dialects is fragmentary.[3] The New Testa-

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[1] This chapter and the original presentation were supported by the Austrian Science Fund/FWF project P29315.

[2] Currently the Gospel of John is the best studied part of the Coptic New Testament due to the publication of Christian Askeland, *John's Gospel. The Coptic Translation of its Greek Text* (ANTF 44. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter, 2012). However, Askeland observes that his book is meant to be a stepping stone for further research, (e.g. pp. 107–108, 255–256).

[3] As an example of how biblical verses attested in a manuscript of hymns can be analysed, see M.H.O. Schulz, 'Der Wert des Hamūli-Antiphonars für die Textkritik der Apokalypse des Johannes auf Sahidisch', in *Studien zum Text der Apokalypse II*, ed. M. Sigismund and D. Müller. (ANTF 50. Berlin/New York: De

ment is much better preserved: in Sahidic Coptic, the main literary dialect from Late Antiquity until the end of the Middle Ages, every verse is attested by at least one manuscript.

In the present study, I will focus on the text of New Testament lectionaries preserved in Sahidic because they are generally included in editions which provide variant readings in a critical apparatus. Furthermore, Sahidic lectionaries are included as part of the versional evidence in the ECM.[4] As some lectionaries in the Greek textual tradition show distinctive variant readings which have been used to posit the existence of a specific 'lectionary text', it is surprising that an evaluation of the text of the Sahidic lectionaries has not yet been undertaken.[5]

RECONSTRUCTION OF MANUSCRIPTS

The state of preservation of the literary heritage in Sahidic Coptic, especially of the first millennium CE, is poor. Only a few complete codices have survived; the majority of the manuscripts are fragmentary and dispersed between collections throughout the world. For New Testament manuscripts and lectionaries, scholarly activity has been led by the INTF since the late 1950s. Besides collecting microfilms, photographs, publications, facsimile editions and some manuscripts, the identification of texts, cataloguing of leaves and fragments and the assigning of pieces to codices on the basis of palaeographical similarity have been the major steps in making Coptic material available for New Testament scholarship. One important result was the publication of a two-volume list of Coptic manuscripts by F.-J. Schmitz and

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Gruyter, 2017), 189–210. Here the test case was Revelation, of which the opening verses are very poorly attested but partly included in the Hamūli-Antiphonary.

[4] *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior III. Die Apostelgeschichte—The Acts of the Apostles. Teil 1.1 Text (Kapitel 1–14)—Part 1.1 Text (Chapter 1–14)*; *Teil 1.2 Text (Kapitel 15–28)—Part 1.2 Text (Chapter 15–28)*, ed. Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2017), hereafter called ECM Acts 1.1 and 1.2 respectively; *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior IV. Die katholischen Briefe—The Catholic Letters. Teil 1 Text—Part 1 Text*, ed. Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung. (2nd edn; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2013), hereafter called ECM Cath.

[5] On the question of the 'lectionary text' and gaps in the study of the Greek lectionary, see the contributions by Gibson and Paulson to the present volume.

Gerd Mink.[6] Further manuscripts were added by the Salzburg-based *Biblia Coptica* project, led by the late Karlheinz Schüssler who aimed to gather all manuscripts with biblical content.[7] Since 2007, work on Coptic manuscripts at the INTF has been carried out by Siegfried Richter. This has included the publication online of a revised version of the manuscript list, incorporating Schüssler's witnesses. This database is known as Schmitz-Mink-Richter (SMR), which provides each Coptic manuscript with a numerical siglum.[8]

However, of 669 Sahidic manuscripts currently in the SMR database, 359 consist of fewer than ten folios, while 190 entries comprise a single fragment or folio.[9] Since only slightly more than 100 codices are lectionaries or other liturgical manuscripts (indicated by a superscript ^{L}) and more than two-thirds of these have fewer than ten folios, it is impossible to draw definite conclusions. Nonetheless, by listing the variant readings attested in these witnesses, it is possible to assess whether features of a specific lectionary text can be identified in Sahidic.

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[6] F.-J. Schmitz and G. Mink, *Liste der koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. I. Die sahidischen Handschriften der Evangelien. 1. Teil.* (ANTF 8. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1986); *2. Teil, 1. Halbband.* (ANTF 13. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1989); *2. Teil, 2. Halbband.* (ANTF 15. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1991). The number of reconstructed manuscripts was enlarged by F.-J. Schmitz, *Das Verhältnis der koptischen zur griechischen Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments. Dokumentation und Auswertung der Gesamtmaterialien beider Traditionen zum Jakobusbrief und den beiden Petrusbriefen.* (ANTF 33. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2003).

[7] K.-H. Schüssler, ed., *Biblia Coptica. Die koptischen Bibeltexte. Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament, Vol. 1.1–2.2, 3.1–4.4* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995–2015).

[8] http://intf.uni-muenster.de/smr/ (Schmitz-Mink-Richter database).

[9] Of the following manuscripts only single leaves or fragments are known today: sa 22, sa 25, sa 27, sa 29, sa 50–56, sa 58^{L}, sa 60, sa 62, sa 65, sa 69–72, sa 74–75, sa 80, sa 83–88, sa 205–215, sa 217–218, sa 220–223, sa 225–226, sa 229–230, sa 232–234, sa 237, sa 239–243, sa 246–248, sa 250–251, sa 253–256, sa 258–263, sa 265–266, sa 268, sa 271–284, sa 288, sa 314^{L}–315^{L}, sa 317^{L}–319^{L}, sa 322^{L}–323^{L}, sa 326^{L}–334^{L}, sa 344^{L}–345^{L}, sa 348^{L}, sa 350–352, sa 354, sa 359^{L}, 363–364, sa 367, sa 369, sa 376, sa 389^{L} (today lost), sa 390–391, sa 397–398, sa 403^{L}, sa 405^{L}–407^{L}, sa 411–414^{L}, sa 416^{L}–417, sa 419–423, sa 425, sa 427–432, sa 436–438, sa 441, sa 444 (today lost)–449, sa 454, sa 460, sa 614–618, sa 620, sa 622–627, sa 629–631, sa 633, sa 637^{L}, sa 639^{L}–642^{L}, sa 644–645, sa 647, and sa 650 (today lost). For further information see the SMR database.

THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT ATTESTED IN LECTIONARIES

Greek Evidence

In the Greek textual tradition of the New Testament, some variants only attested in lectionaries derive from the adaptation of the text for liturgical use. As a general rule, such alterations occur most often at the beginning of a pericope/lection: for example, in place of τῇ ἐπαύριον in John 1:29 twenty-seven Greek lectionaries read τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνω (L32, L60, L141, L252, L253, L329, L335, L387, L425, L638, L640, L663, L704, L735, L770, L1000, L1073, L1075, L1076, L1077, L1082, L1086, L1091, L1096, L1100, L1552, L1692) and one just τῷ καιρῷ (L847).[10]

In some cases, it is hard to decide whether a variant reading was intentional or a scribal error. Three main categories of lectionary variants can be distinguished: omissions, additions and alterations (replacements). Omissions of words or phrases, even if the resultant text is meaningful, are particularly problematic because these could also have been the result of homeoteleuton. Therefore changes in wording are more reliable as proof of a lectionary text preserved in more than one manuscript. Such alterations are more complex, since they sometimes involve a sophisticated adaptation of the text spanning several variation units: as these might also involve omissions or additions, the boundaries between the three categories described above must be seen as porous. Examples of these different categories in Greek witnesses to the Gospel according to John are given in the following sections.

Omission of Text

- At the beginning of a verse: John 4:46 [also attested in GA 865]; 7:37 [also attested in GA 1128]; 13:3 [L640, possibly a mistake]; 14:9 [L17, possibly a mistake]; 14:10; 14:15 [L847, maybe due to homeoteleuton]; 14:27 [also attest-

[10] Examples given depend on the ITSEE versional editor and are limited to the Gospel of John. Individual lectionaries are mentioned only in those cases in which fewer than five manuscripts attest a variant unit. Since ECM John is still in preparation the reader is referred to the transcriptions of Greek manuscripts released on the website at http://www.iohannes.com/transcriptions/index.html. The lectionaries might vary slightly in the (variant) text they contain as well as in the extent of omissions or wording of additions. The omission of complete verses within a lesson has not been recorded.

ed in GA 2223]; 15:7 [L640, possibly a mistake]; 16:23; 19:20 [L253; L252, L1552; also attested in GA 69]; 19:30; 21:21–22 [L847, homeoteleuton];

- Within a verse: John 11:54 [L1000, possibly a mistake]; 15:4 [L1086, possibly a mistake]; 15:6 [L253, possibly a mistake]; 16:13 [L253, possibly a mistake, cf. also the omission at the end of the verse]; 16:25 [L252; L1096]; 17:6 [L252, L253]; 17:11 [L253]; 18:30 [L640, possibly a mistake]; 19:5 [L329]; 19:13 [L32, also Ethiopic]; 19:20 [L847]; 19:26 [L640, L704, L1073, also bo^{mss} and ly 1]; 19:28 [L335]; 19:29 [L253, nearly identical in GA 1093 and sa 16^{L}]; 19:33 [L252, also attested in GA 992]; 19:34 [L253, also attested in Ethiopic and sa 16^{L}]; 19:42 [L335]; 20:16 [L32];
- At the end of a verse: John 12:35 [L640, in two pericopes to a different extent]; 12:36; 13:1 [L640; L704, L1076]; 13:10 [L1552, possibly a mistake]; 14:3 [L32, possibly a mistake]; John 14:10; 14:11 [also attested in GA 992]; 14:14 [L847, possible homeoteleuton]; 15:4 [L1096, possibly a mistake]; 15:8 [L253, possibly a mistake]; 15:24 [L17, omitted text added within John 15:22]; 16:13; 16:33; 17:7 [L1086, possibly a mistake]; 18:31 [L640, possibly a mistake]; 19:11; 19:17 [L253, possibly a mistake]; 19:18 [L253, possibly a mistake]; 19:35; 20:19 [L141, possibly a mistake]; 20:31 [L253, possibly a mistake]; 21:1 [L253, omission also attested in 333]; 21:21–22 [L847, homeoteleuton].

Addition of Text

- At the beginning of a verse: John 3:13; 3:16; 5:24; 5:25 [L253, L1552; L640]; 5:31 [L60, L1552], 6:5; 6:27; 6:39 [L252, L735]; 6:40; 6:48; 6:56; 8:51; 9:1; 10:1; 10:2; 10:9; 10:11 [L253, L1000]; 10:17; 10:22 [L252, L663, L770, L1075]; 11:1; 11:47; 12:17; 12:25; 12:36; 13:1; 13:3; 13:12 [L329]; John 14:1 [ειπεν ο κυριος τοις εαυτου μαθηταις; GA 05 has a similar addition (και ειπεν τοις μαθηταις αυτου)]; 14:15 [L253, L663, L1552]; 14:21 [L663, L770]; 15:1; 15:9; 15:17; 16:15; 17:13 [L253]; 17:18; 18:28; 19:23; 21:15 [L1000];
- Within a verse: John 5:30; 14:10; 15:22 [L17, added text omitted in John 15:24]; 17:23 [L5, nearly identical addition in GA 807]; 18:40 [L1000]; 19:38 [L1552]; 21:20 [L5];
- At the end of a verse: John 16:19 [L335]; 17:11; 19:18 [L60].

Alteration/Replacement of Text

- At the beginning of a verse: John 1:29; 3:1; 5:1; 5:17 [εληλυθοτας majority of lectionaries, συνελθοντας L735, πεπιστευκοτας L638]; 5:30 [L32]; 6:14; 6:35; 6:61 [L640]; 7:1; 8:3; 8:12; 8:21; 8:31; 8:42; 9:39; 10:1 [L141, L1075; L253]; 10:2; 12:1; 12:17; 12:19; 12:24; 12:35 [L663, L770]; 13:12; 13:31; 16:2; 16:23; 17:1; 18:1; 18:23 [L640]; 19:3 [L60]; 19:6; 19:7 [L640]; 19:9; 19:15; 19:25; 19:38 [multiple instances, especially L17]; 20:11; 21:14; 21:15;
- Within a verse: John 17:8 [L60]; 18:26 [L640, possibly a mistake]; 18:36 [L1552, possibly a mistake]; 19:9 [L60]; 19:10 [L32, nearly identical variant in

GA 044 and 544]; 19:15 [(only αυτω added L252); L253]; 19:17 [L253; L1075]; 19:20 [L1082]; 19:31 [L253, possibly a mistake]; 19:40 [L735]; 21:14 [L60, cf. also 032]; 21:20 [different variants in L32, L253, L387];
- At the end of a verse: John 19:16 [different variants, main lectionary reading (compare, for example, L17) also attested in GA 1093].

Sahidic Evidence

Comparable types of variation also exist in Sahidic lectionaries. To illustrate the variants attested, I compiled a list for those parts of the New Testament that have so far been fully documented: John, Acts, 1 Peter, 2 Peter, James and Revelation.[11] The list is fairly complete except for minor variants that do not affect the meaning of the text, such as slightly different wording, orthographical variants or different prepositions.

John 1:9 sa 15^{L} has ⲡⲉⲧⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ instead of ⲉⲧⲣ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ.
John 1:12 sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩϫⲓⲛⲧϥ instead of ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩϫⲓⲧϥ, certainly a mistake.
John 1:43–4 sa 15^{L} omits ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲁϩⲕ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱï at the end of John 1:43 and ⲫⲓⲗⲓⲡⲡⲟⲥ at the beginning of John 1:44, certainly a mistake (homeoteleuton).
John 1:46 sa 15^{L} has ⲉⲣⲉϣ instead of ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩⲉⲛ.
John 1:50 sa 15^{L} adds ⲛⲕⲉⲥⲟⲡ after ⲁïⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ.
John 1:51 sa 15^{L} has ⲡⲉⲧϫⲁⲁϥ instead of ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ.
John 2:2 sa 15^{L} has ⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲥ instead of ⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ.
John 2:6 sa 15^{L} has ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ instead of ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ.
John 2:7 sa 15^{L} omits ⲛⲁⲩ.
John 3:2 sa 15^{L} omits ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕ and has (ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϣⲟⲟⲡ) ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲕ instead of ⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲁϥ.
John 3:4 sa 15^{L} omits ⲛⲁϥ.
John 3:5 sa 306^{L} adds ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ after ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲓ̄ⲥ̄. See also sa 9 which adds ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ. sa 15^{L} and sa 306^{L} have ⲛⲏⲧⲛ (ⲛⲏⲧⲉ`ⲛ´ 15^{L}) instead of ⲛⲁⲕ.
John 3:8 sa 306^{L} omits ⲁⲩⲱ ⲕⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲥⲙⲏ.
John 3:11 sa 15^{L} omits ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ.
John 3:14 See below.
John 4:9 sa 291^{L} has ⲛⲁϣ ⲛϩⲉ ⲛⲧⲕ ⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ instead of ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕ̄ ⲟⲩïⲟⲩⲇⲁï.

[11] For the Gospel of John and Acts I depend on the complete collations of the manuscripts as used for the ECM; for 1 Peter, 2 Peter and James on Schmitz, *Verhältnis*; for Revelation on Christian Askeland, 'An Eclectic Edition of the Sahidic Apocalypse of John', in *Studien zum Text der Apokalypse II*, ed. M. Sigismund and D. Müller. (ANTF 50. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2017), 33–79. A list of the (remains of) pericopes consulted is provided as an Appendix to this chapter.

John 4:16 sa 291^{L} adds ⲛ̇ϭⲓ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ after ⲛⲁⲥ; however, this is a transposition of the addition of the name ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ which is also attested in sa 10, sa 112 and sa 142.

John 4:17 sa 291^{L} has ⲁⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ̇· ⲡⲉϫⲁⲥ ⲛⲁϥ· ϫⲉ. The majority of the Sahidic manuscripts read ⲁⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ, while only sa 124 has ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ̀ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ.

John 4:20 sa 291^{L} omits ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄.

John 5:11 sa 291^{L} has ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ̇ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̇ϭⲓ ⲡ̇ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ while all other manuscripts have ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ̄ ⲛⲁⲩ (sa 1, sa 103 and sa 121 omit ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ).

John 5:14 sa 291^{L} omits ⲛⲁϥ.

John 5:23 sa 15^{L} omits ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲣⲉⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲧⲁïⲉ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ (homeoteleuton) and has ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲛⲁⲧⲁⲉⲓⲟ instead of ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϥⲧⲁïⲟ.

John 5:24 sa 15^{L} omits one ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ at the beginning of this verse.

John 6:7 sa 15^{L} prefixes ⲁⲩⲱ to the verse, omits ⲛⲁϥ and has ⲙⲛⲧ ⲉ instead of ⲙⲛ̄ ϣⲏⲧ.

John 6:9 sa 15^{L} ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲣ instead of ⲛⲁï ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄.

John 6:11 At the beginning of the verse sa 15^{L} has ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲁϥϣⲉⲡ ϩⲙⲟⲧ instead of ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ϭⲉ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲉⲓⲕ ⲁⲩⲱ (ⲁⲩⲱ omitted by sa 121, sa 347^{L}) ⲁϥϣⲡ̄ ϩⲙⲟⲧ; sa 15^{L} omits also ⲟⲛ and reads ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩ ⲓ instead of ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩϫⲓⲧϥ̄.

John 6:13 sa 15^{L} has ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩϩ ϭⲉ ⲁⲩ<ⲙⲉϩ> ⲙⲉⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ instead of ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩϩⲟⲩ ϭⲉ (ⲇⲉ sa 9) ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲙⲉϩ ⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ and ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲟⲩⲱⲙ instead of ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲙ.

John 6:14 sa 15^{L} has ⲇⲉ instead of ϭⲉ and ⲉⲛⲉⲙ̣ⲁ̣ⲉⲓⲛ ⲧⲁϥⲁⲁϥ instead of ⲉⲡⲙⲁⲉⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥⲁⲁϥ.

John 6:15 sa 294^{L} adds ⲉ[ϥⲉϣ]ⲗ̣ⲏⲗ at the end of the verse.

John 7:15 sa 291^{L} omits ⲛ̄ⲁϣ ⲛ̄ϩⲉ.

John 7:17 sa 15^{L} has ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲧⲉ instead of ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ.

John 7:21 sa 15^{L} has ⲁϥⲟⲩⲟϣ̅ⲃ̅ ⲡⲉϫⲛⲁϥ instead of ⲁⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ̄ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲩ.

John 7:37 sa 302^{L} has ⲛ̣ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉ̣ⲛ̣ϫ̣ⲟ̣ⲉ̣ⲓ̣ⲥ̣ ⲓ̣ⲥ instead of ⲛⲉⲣⲉⲓ̅ⲥ̅.

John 7:43 sa 305^{L} has ϩⲛ ⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲙⲏⲏϣⲉ instead of ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲏⲏϣⲉ.

John 8:12 sa 16^{L} has ⲙ̇ⲡⲟⲩⲟ̇ⲉ̈ⲓ̇ⲛ ϣⲁ ⲉ̇ⲛⲉϩ instead of ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ at the end of the verse.

John 8:16 sa 16^{L} has ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ instead of ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲧⲉ.

John 8:21 sa 16^{L} omits ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲓⲛⲉ (ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲁϣⲓⲛⲉ sa 19, sa 116, sa 136, sa 285) ⲛ̄ⲥⲱï· ⲁⲩⲱ, certainly by mistake (homeoteleuton).

John 10:7–10 Within a single lection, sa 15^{L} omits parts of John 10:7 (omission starts from ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡϣⲱⲥ) and John 10:8–10, obviously caused by homeoteleuton since the text resumes at John 10:11 (beginning with ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡϣⲱⲥ).

John 10:16 sa 15^{L} has ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩ instead of ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ.

John 10:25 sa 16^{L} omits ⲛⲁⲩ.

John 10:28 sa 16^{L} omits ⲁⲛⲟⲕ.

John 10:29 sa 16^{L} omits ⲛⲁï.

John 10:31 sa 16^{L} omits ⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛ̇ïⲟⲩⲇⲁï.

John 10:33 sa 16^{L} omits ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕ.

John 11:6 sa 324^{L} has ⲉⲧⲙⲙ̣ⲁⲩ instead of ⲉⲛⲉϥⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ̄.

John 11:9 sa 324^{L} adds ⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ after ⲛ̄ϭⲓ.
John 11:50 sa 16^{L} omits ⲛⲁⲛ ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ.
John 12:18 sa 301^{L} adds ϫⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧ̣[ⲙ] after ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄, certainly a mistake (dittography).
John 12:23 sa 440^{L} has ⲁⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲱϣ̅ⲃ̅ instead of ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣ̅ⲃ̅ or ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣ̅ⲃ̅ (sa 4, sa 5, sa 7, sa 9, sa 15^{L} (omits ⲇⲉ), sa 19, sa 116)
John 12:25 sa 15^{L} has ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲣⲙ instead of ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲟⲥⲧⲉ.
John 12:26 sa 300^{L} has ⲉ̣[ⲣ]ϣⲁⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛ[ⲉⲓ] instead of ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲁⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲉⲓ.
John 12:28 sa 15^{L} has ϣⲁⲣⲟⲓ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ instead of ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲉ.
John 12:30 sa 15^{L} adds ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ϩⲁⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ϯϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲏⲧⲉⲛ ϫⲉ after ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ.
John 12:35 sa 305^{L} omits ⲛⲁⲩ.
John 12:38 sa 305^{L} has ϫⲉ instead of ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ and omits ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ.
John 13:1 sa 16^{L} omits ⲛϥ̄ⲃⲱⲕ.
John 13:2 sa 16^{L} omits ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲙⲱⲛ and has ϫⲉ instead of ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ.
John 13:8 sa 16^{L} omits ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ.
John 13:11 sa 16^{L} adds ⲛⲁⲩ after ⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲥ.
John 13:15 sa 16^{L} has ⲛⲧⲁϊⲧⲁ̀ⲁⲩ instead of ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϊⲧⲁⲁϥ and alters the text at the end of the verse to ⲛ̇ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̇ ϩⲱⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ̇ · ⲉ̇ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲁ̀ⲁⲥ · instead of ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲁⲁⲥ ϩⲱⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ̄.
John 13:25 sa 349^{L} omits ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ.
John 13:26 sa 16^{L} has ⲛ̇ⲧⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̇ⲙⲁⲩ instead of ⲡⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ.
John 13:38 sa 16^{L} has the limitative ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉⲕⲁ̀ⲡⲁⲣⲛⲁ, all other manuscipts have a negative construction (ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̄ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲛⲁ sa 4, sa 124 (ⲉⲙⲡⲕ̄ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲛⲁ sa 1, ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̄`ⲁ´ⲡⲁⲣⲛⲁ sa 5, ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲁ̀ⲡⲁⲣⲛⲁ sa 9, ⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ̣[ⲁⲡⲁⲣⲛⲁ] sa 108); ⲙ̇ⲡⲁⲧⲕ̄ⲁ̀ⲡⲁⲣⲛⲁ sa 10 (ⲙ̇ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲕⲁ̄[ⲡⲁⲣⲛⲁ sa 19, ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲕⲁⲡ̣[ⲁⲣⲛⲁ sa 89); ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ̄ⲁⲣⲛⲁ sa 139, sa 142)
John 14:6 sa 16^{L} omits ⲛⲏⲩ.
John 14:9 sa 16^{L} omits ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕ.
John 14:10 sa 16^{L} omits ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ (homeoteleuton) and adds ⲉϩⲣⲁϊ after ⲡⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ.
John 14:20 sa 16^{L} has ⲛ̇ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲛ̇ϩⲏⲧ instead of ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ.
John 14:21 sa 16^{L} adds ⲁ̀ⲛⲟⲕ after ϯⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲓⲧϥ̄ ⲁⲩⲱ.
John 15:4 sa 16^{L} omits ϭⲱ ϩⲣⲁϊ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ̄.
John 15:5 sa 16^{L} has ⲉ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̇ϣⲁⲛϭⲱ, all other manuscripts have negative constructions (ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ϣⲁⲛⲧⲙ̄ϭⲱ sa 1, sa 14^{L}, sa 103, sa 108, sa 123, sa 139, sa 297^{L}, sa 336^{L}; ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ϭⲱ sa 4, sa 5, sa 9, sa 10$^{vid.}$, sa 19, sa 121$^{vid.}$, sa 124, sa 286).
John 15:10 sa 15^{L} omits ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ϣⲁⲛϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲁⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁϭⲱ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲁⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏ·.
John 15:12 sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏⲩ instead of ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲏⲩ.
John 15:16 sa 15^{L} has ϫⲉ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲃⲱⲕ· ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϯ ⲛⲟⲩⲅⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁϣⲱϥ· instead of ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ϯ ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ.
John 15:19 sa 291^{L} adds ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲱϥ ⲡⲉ · ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛ before ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ, an addition quite similar, but not identical, to one attested in sa 286 (ϩⲙ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲣⲉⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲟϥ ⲡⲉ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ ϩⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ).
John 15:26 sa 15^{L} adds ⲡⲉⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ after ⲡ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ and has ⲡⲉⲧⲣ ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧϥ instead of ⲛⲁⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ (ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲉⲣ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ sa 19, sa 286) at the end of the verse.

John 16:3 sa 15^{L} has ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ instead of ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ.

John 16:4 sa 15^{L} adds ⲛⲛⲁⲓ after ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ.

John 16:6 sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓ ϫⲉ instead of ϫⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ϫⲉ.

John 16:7 sa 16^{L} adds ⲅⲁⲣ after ⲛⲟϥⲣⲉ; sa 14^{L} has ϫⲉ instead of ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ; sa 15^{L} omits ⲁⲛⲟⲕ and has ⲅⲁⲣ instead of ⲇⲉ.

John 16:10 sa 15^{L} has ⲉⲧⲇⲓ̈ⲕⲁⲓ̈ⲟⲥⲩ̈ⲛⲏ instead of ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲩⲛⲏ.

John 16:13 sa 16^{L} has ϩⲏⲧⲧⲏⲩ instead of ϩⲏⲧⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ̄.

John 16:15 sa 16^{L} has ⲉ̇ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛ̇ⲧⲁϥ; the majority of the manuscripts have ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲥ (sa 5, sa10$^{vid.}$, sa 14$^{Lvid.}$, sa 108, sa 123, sa 139 (ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲛⲧⲉⲥ sa 4, sa 297^{L}); ⲉ̇ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲥ̇ sa 9); other readings are ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛ̇ⲧⲁⲓⲥϥ (sa 19); ⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥⲥ̄ (sa 124); ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉ (sa 141). Furthermore, sa 16^{L} has ⲡⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲧ instead of ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ (ⲡⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲧ sa 19).

John 16:17 sa 16^{L} has ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲗⲟ · ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲩ instead of ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲁⲩ.

John 16:20 sa 59^{L} has ⲡ[ⲉ]ⲧⲛⲛⲁⲗⲩⲡⲏ instead of ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲗⲩⲡⲉⲓ.

John 16:21 sa 16^{L} has ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛϫⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲥϣⲏⲣⲉ instead of ⲉⲥϣⲁⲛϫⲡⲉ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ.

John 16:26 sa 16^{L} has ⲡⲁⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲧ instead of ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ (sa 5, sa 9, sa 10, sa 108; ⲡⲓⲱⲧ sa 1, sa 4, sa 19, sa 115, sa 124, sa 154).

John 16:27 sa 16^{L} has ϩⲓ̈ⲧⲙ ⲡⲁⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲧ instead of ϩⲓⲧⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ (ⲡⲓⲱⲧ sa 1, sa 19, as 115, sa 154).

John 16:28 sa 16^{L} has ϩⲓ̈ⲧⲙ ⲡⲁⲉ̈ⲓⲱⲧ instead of ϩⲓⲧⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ (ⲡⲓⲱⲧ sa 1, sa 19, as 115, sa 124, Cairo, Coptic Museum, Call No. 931 [G 809 Fragment 1]).

John 17:1 sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϭⲓ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ · ϥϥⲓ instead of ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥϥⲓ̈.

John 17:7 sa 15^{L} omits ϩⲉⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲕ̄ ⲛⲉ.

John 17:8 sa 15^{L} omits ϫⲉ ⲛ̄ϣⲁϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲕⲧⲁⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ and has some orthographical anomalies. sa 292^{L} has ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ instead of ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲓ, obviously a mistake.

John 17:11 sa 15^{L} adds ⲉⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ after ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲛ (ⲉⲁⲛⲟ(ⲛ) sa 15^{L}) at the end of the verse.

John 17:25 sa 292^{L} omits ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲅ̄ and ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ. ϩⲱⲟⲩ ⲟⲛ is only attested by sa 4, sa 5, sa 9, sa 19 (without ⲟⲛ) and sa 124. sa 74 also omits ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲁⲓ̈.

John 18:5 sa 16^{L} has ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱ̇ϣⲃ̇ instead of ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ̄ and omits ⲇⲉ.

John 18:8 sa 16^{L} adds ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲩ after ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ and has ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲃⲱⲕ instead of ⲧⲁⲣⲟⲩⲃⲱⲕ (sa 1, sa 4, sa 5, sa 9, sa 19, sa 74$^{vid.}$, sa 124, sa 140, sa 235), ⲉⲃ̣ⲱ̣ⲕ (sa 10), or ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲕ (sa 108, sa 127, sa 292^{L}). sa 453 has ⲉⲃⲟⲗ [ⲃ]ⲱⲕ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲙⲙⲏⲧⲛ.

John 18:10 sa 16^{L} has ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲇⲉ· ⲡϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲉ̇ⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ instead of ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲙ̄ϩⲁⲗ.

John 18:11 sa 16^{L} omits ⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲓ̈.

John 18:12 sa 16^{L} omits ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ̈ (ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ̈ sa 1, sa 124).

John 18:14 sa 16^{L} has ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲟⲩⲱⲙ instead of ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ.

John 18:15 sa 292^{L} omits ⲛⲙ̄ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅.

John 18:16 sa 16^{L} has ⲁ̇ϥⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ̇ ⲙ̇ⲡⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̇ⲡⲣⲟ instead of ⲛⲉϥⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲃⲟⲗ (ⲃ̄ⲃⲟⲗ sa 1, ⲙ̇ⲡⲃ̣ⲟ̣ⲗ sa 260) ϩⲓⲣⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲟ.

John 18:17 sa 16^{L} has ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ instead of ϩⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ.

John 18:18 sa 16^{L} omits ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲟⲛ; in sa 292^{L} ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ is corrected from ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ.

John 18:20 sa 16^{L} omits ⲛⲁϥ after ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ̄.

John 18:23 sa 16^{L} has ⲉⲕϫⲓⲟⲩⲉ̇ instead of ⲕϩⲓⲟⲩⲉ (ⲉⲕϩⲓⲟⲩⲉ sa 292^{L}).

John 18:26 sa 16^{L} has ⲙⲛ ⲁ̇ⲛⲟⲕ instead of ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲕ (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ sa 1, sa 103, sa 108, sa 140, sa 292^{L}).

John 18:35 sa 16^{L} has ⲉ̇ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲁⲕ instead of ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲁⲕ.

John 18:36 sa 292^{L} has ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲟ instead of ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲟ (ⲧⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ sa 9, sa 19, sa 103); sa 16^{L} has ⲛⲟⲩⲉ ⲉ̇ⲃⲟⲗ instead of ⲉⲛⲉⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

John 18:40 sa 16^{L} adds ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉ̇ⲃⲟⲗ after ⲕⲁ ⲃⲁⲣⲁⲃⲃⲁⲥ; sa 19 adds ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

John 19:6 sa 16^{L} omits the second occurence of ⲥ̄ⳁⲟ̄ⲩ̄ ⲙ̇ⲙⲟϥ.

John 19:15 sa 298^{L} omits ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲁϣⲕⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ ϥⲓⲧϥ̄ ϥⲓⲧϥ̄ ⲥ̄ⳁⲟ̄ⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ· ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲧⲁⲥ̄ⳁⲟ̄ⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ; sa 58^{L} has ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲣⲣⲟ instead of ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧⲉⲓ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ (ⲉⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ sa 124).

John 19:17 sa 16^{L} omits ⲉⲩⲙⲁ.

John 19:21 sa 16^{L} has ⲛ̇ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲓ̈ⲉ̇ⲣⲉⲩⲥ instead of ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ̈ (ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ̈ sa 1, ⲙⲛ ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁ̣[ⲓ] sa 155) and ⲁ̇ⲛ̄ⲅ̄ ⲡⲣ̇ⲣⲟ ⲛ̇ⲛⲉ̇ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ̈ instead of ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ̈ (ⲛ̄ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ̈ sa 1).

John 19:27 sa 15^{L} has ⲡⲙⲁⲑⲓⲧⲏⲥ instead of ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ.

John 19:29 sa 16^{L} omits ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲟⲅⲅⲟⲥ ϭⲉ ⲉϥⲙⲉϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡϩⲙ̄ϫ; sa 15^{L} adds ⲁⲩⲱ after ϩⲙ̄ ⲡϩⲙ̄ϫ.

John 19:32 sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ instead of ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ (ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲉ̇ⲣⲏⲧⲉ sa 9; ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ sa 16^{L}, sa 155).

John 19:34 sa 16^{L} omits ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ.

John 19:38 sa 16^{L} has ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓ̅ⲥ̅ instead of ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅.

John 20:1 sa 15^{L} has ⲡⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ instead of ⲡⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ at the end of the verse.

John 20:2 sa 15^{L} has ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉⲓ̅ⲥ̅ instead of ⲉⲣⲉⲓ̅ⲥ̅ (sa 4, sa 5, sa 9, sa 10, sa 19), ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲉⲓ̅ⲥ̅ (sa 1, sa 14^{L}, sa 103, sa 139, sa 155, sa 182), or ⲛ̣ⲉ̣[ⲣⲉⲓ̅ⲥ̅ (sa 313^{L}).

John 20:3 sa 15^{L} adds ⲛⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ after ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲫⲟⲥ at the end of the verse, obviously a mistake (dittography).

John 20:5 sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲉϥϩⲟⲟⲥ instead of ⲉⲛⲉϩⲃⲱⲱⲥ.

John 20:7 sa 15^{L} omits ⲛⲉϥⲕⲏ ⲁⲛ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϩⲃⲱⲱⲥ· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉϥϭⲗ̄ⲙⲗⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲥⲁ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ.

John 20:10 sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ instead of ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ.

John 20:11 sa 15^{L} omits ⲉⲥⲣⲓⲙⲉ ⲇⲉ.

John 20:12 sa 15^{L} has ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ instead of ⲉⲛⲉⲣⲉⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ (ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ sa 335^{L}; ⲉⲛⲉⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ sa 369).

John 20:13 sa 15^{L} omits ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϫⲉ after ⲡⲉϫⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ.

John 20:14 sa 15^{L} omits ⲉϥⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ̄.

John 20:15 sa 15^{L} has ⲁⲕⲃⲓ ⲙⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ instead of ⲁⲕϥⲓⲧϥ̄ and adds ⲧⲁϯ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲃⲉⲕⲉ at the end of the verse. This variant was examined in an article by Hans Förster.[12]

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[12] H. Förster, ' "…damit ich dir deinen Lohn gebe". Eine etwas andere Begegnung am leeren Grab (Joh 20, 15) in einer koptischen liturgischen Handschrift', *Mitteilungen zur christlichen Archäologie* 18 (2012) 91–100.

John 20:17 sa 15^{L} alters nearly the complete verse through transpositions, having ⲡⲉⲓⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ· ⲃⲱⲕ ϣⲁ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛⲧⲉⲣϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ϯⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲣⲁ ϣⲁ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ· instead of the majority reading ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ· ⲃⲱⲕ ϣⲁ ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϫⲟⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ· ϫⲉ (sa 9 adds ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏ̀ⲧⲉ) ϯⲛⲁⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲣⲁϊ (sa 19, sa 116 add ⲉⲧⲡⲉ) ϣⲁ ⲡⲁⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲉ.

John 20:20 sa 15^{L} adds ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ after ⲉⲛⲉϥϭⲓϫ and has ⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ instead of ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ.

John 20:21 sa 15^{L} has ϫⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ instead of ϯϫⲟⲟⲩ and some orthographical variants and mistakes.

John 20:22 sa 15^{L} has ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ instead of ⲉϥⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ.

John 20:23 sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲕⲁ and ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲙⲁⲁϩⲧⲉ instead of ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲕⲁ and ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ (ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ sa 66; ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲛⲁⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ sa 116; ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ sa 369).

John 20:25 sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ instead of ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ (sa 1, sa 10, sa 14^{L}, sa 103, sa 182, sa 268, sa 335^{L}, sa 342^{L}) or ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ (sa 4, sa 5, sa 9, sa 115, sa 143, sa 369, ˋ<ⲙ>ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥˊ sa 66) and ⲉⲧϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉϥϭⲓϫ instead of ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϥϭⲓϫ; furthermore, the manuscript has some orthographical irregularities.

John 20:28 sa 336^{L} omits ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ at the end of the verse.

John 20:31 sa 15^{L} adds ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ after ⲛⲁⲓ and has ⲡⲉ instead of ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅.

Acts 1:2 In sa 15^{L} the verse occurs twice. Both times sa 15^{L} adds ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲡⲉ ('up to heaven') after ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁⲛⲁⲙⲃⲁⲗⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ (*sic*, ἀναλαμβάνω, here as a rendering of ἐντειλάμενος). In the second instance of this verse sa 15^{L} omits ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ after ⲡⲉⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅.

Acts 1:4 In sa 15^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the first instance sa 15^{L} repeats ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲥⲟⲧⲙⲉϥ ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲧ (dittography).

Acts 1:6 In sa 15^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the first instance sa 15^{L} omits ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ.

Acts 1:7 In sa 15^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the second instance sa 15^{L} has ⲡ̣ⲥ̣ⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ instead of ⲥⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ, in the first instance ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ is replaced by the synonymous phrase ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟϥ.

Acts 1:8 In sa 15^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the second instance sa 15^{L} omits ⲧⲏⲣⲥ after ϊⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓⲁ.

Acts 1:13 sa 15^{L} omits ⲙⲛ ⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥ.

Acts 2:4 sa 15^{L} adds ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲛⲁⲩ after ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩϣⲁϫⲉ (mistake caused by combining dittography of ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ϯ ⲛⲁⲩ and ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩϣⲁϫⲉ).

Acts 2:6–7 sa 15^{L} adds ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ after ⲁⲩϣⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ in Acts 2:6 and has ⲁⲩⲱ ϣⲧⲟⲣ̂ⲧⲉ instead of ⲁⲩⲣ̄ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ in Acts 2:7 (combined mistake: in Acts 2:7 ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ is followed by ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ).

Acts 2:10 sa 15^{L} omits ⲉⲧⲧⲁϊ at the end of the verse.

Acts 2:11 sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲉⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ instead of ⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ and omits ϩⲛ ϩⲉⲛⲁⲥⲡⲉ (sa 5, sa 34) or ϩⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲡⲉ (sa 17, 293^{L}, sa 379; ϩⲛ̄ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̣ⲁ̣ⲥⲡⲉ sa 373; ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲁⲥⲡⲉ sa 383) but adds ⲁⲩⲱ; sa 302^{L} has ⲛⲉⲩⲁⲥⲡⲉ.

Acts 2:12 See the discussion below.

Acts 2:14 sa 15^{L} omits ⲛⲓⲙ.

Acts 2:15 sa 15^{L} has ϩⲉ instead of ⲧⲁϩⲉ and omits ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄.

Acts 2:17 sa 15^{L} has ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ instead of ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ; sa 302^{L} has ⲧⲁⲩⲟ instead of ⲛⲁⲩ (sa 5, sa 34, sa 63$^{vid.}$, sa 373, sa 379, sa 381, sa 383) or ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ (sa 17; ⲛⲁ ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ sa 15^{L}).

Acts 2:22 sa 15^{L} omits ϩⲉⲛ ϭⲟⲙ ⲙⲛ̄.

Acts 2:25 sa 15^{L} omits the beginning of the verse and starts with ϫⲉ ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡϫⲟⲉⲓ<ⲥ>.

Acts 2:30 sa 15^{L} omits ⲉϥⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ.

Acts 2:32 sa 15^{L} omits ⲧⲏⲣⲛ̄.

Acts 2:34 sa 15^{L} has the singular ⲉⲧⲡⲉ instead of the plural ⲉⲙⲡⲏⲩⲉ; Bohairic and mae 3 also have singular. The singular is also attested by GA 619, 636, 1162, 2805, Chrysostom, Cosmas Indicopleustes, and manuscripts of Cyril and the Latin Irenaeus.[13] However, it is more likely that the variant in sa 15^{L} is an independent intra-versional development.

Acts 2:35 sa 15^{L} has ϣⲁⲛϯⲕⲟ ⲛⲛⲉⲕϫⲁϫⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ϩⲁ ⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲛⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ instead of ϣⲁⲛϯⲕⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕϫⲁϫⲉ (ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕϫⲓϫⲉⲉⲩⲉ sa 34) ⲛ̄ϩⲩⲡⲟⲡⲟⲇⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ.

Acts 2:46 sa 291^{L} has ⲙⲙⲏⲛϣⲉ instead of ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲛⲉ at the beginning of the verse.

Acts 2:47 sa 291^{L} has ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ instead of ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ.

Acts 3:8 sa 291^{L} omits ⲁϥⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ̄ and ⲁϥⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲣⲡⲉ ⲉϥⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ, most likely by homeoteleuton.

Acts 3:13 sa 15^{L} omits ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ but explains ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲁϥ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ 'you gave him (to/in/into)' by adding ⲛⲉϭⲓϫ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ· 'the hands of the lawless'.[14]

Acts 3:14 sa 15^{L} has ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ instead of ⲡⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ, a strange variant.

Acts 3:18 sa 15^{L} omits ϫⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲣⲡ̄.

Acts 3:19 In sa 291^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the second instance sa 291^{L} adds ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ after ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ̄.

Acts 3:20 sa 15^{L} omits ⲛⲁⲛ but adds ⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ after ⲓ̅ⲥ̅. In sa 291^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the second instance sa 291^{L} omits ⲓ̅ⲥ̅.

Acts 3:24 In sa 15^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the first instance sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲉⲥⲱϥ instead of ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱϥ and ⲧⲁϣⲉ instead of ⲁⲩⲧⲁϣⲉⲟⲉⲓϣ, both obviously mistakes of the scribe.

Acts 3:25 In sa 15^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the second instance sa 15^{L} adds ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛ before ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ.

Acts 3:26 sa 291^{L} adds ⲙⲙⲱ̀ⲧⲛ̀ after ⲡⲟⲩⲁ.

Acts 4:8 sa 291^{L} has ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ· ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ instead of ⲁϥⲙⲟⲩϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅.

Acts 4:12 In sa 291^{L} the lection ends right at the beginning of the verse with ϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲛ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ.

Acts 4:36 sa 291^{L} alters the word order of ⲟⲩⲗⲉⲩⲉⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲕⲩⲡⲣⲓⲟⲥ thus changing the noun and attribute to ⲟⲩⲕⲩⲡⲣⲓⲟⲥ· ⲛ̀ⲗⲉⲩⲉⲓⲧⲏⲥ·. The same word or-

[13] ECM *Acts 1.1*, p. 55.

[14] ECM *Acts 1.1*, p. 83–4.

der is attested by GA 05;[15] however an intra-versional development seems more plausible than a Greek *Vorlage*.

Acts 5:13 sa 305^{L} has ⲧⲟϭϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ instead of ⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲟϭϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ, certainly a mistake caused by homeoteleuton.

Acts 5:14 sa 310^{L} adds ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ after ⲉⲡϫⲟⲉⲓ̈ⲥ.

Acts 5:16 sa 15^{L} has ⲉⲩⲉⲓ instead of ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ, obviously a mistake by the scribe, perhaps caused by the ⲛ of the following ⲛⲛⲉⲧϣⲓⲛⲉ.

Acts 5:19 sa 291^{L} omits ⲁϥⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

Acts 5:20 sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛϯⲥⲃⲱ instead of ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲧⲁϣⲉⲟⲉⲓϣ.

Acts 5:21 sa 15^{L} adds ⲙⲡⲗⲁⲟⲥ after ⲁⲩϯⲥⲃⲱ (ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲁⲩϯⲥⲃⲱ in all other manuscripts).

Acts 5:25 sa 291^{L} has ⲉⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲟⲟⲩ instead of ⲉⲓ ⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲟⲟⲩ.

Acts 5:28 sa 291^{L} has ⲛⲁⲩ instead of ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̅.

Acts 5:29 sa 291^{L} has ⲉϣϫⲉ instead of ϣϣⲉ.

Acts 6:5 sa 15^{L} adds ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲱϥ after ⲙⲡⲙⲏⲏϣⲉ ⲧⲏⲣϥ.

Acts 7:2 sa 15^{L} and sa 291^{L} omit the beginning of the verse; their lections start with ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ.

Acts 7:3–4 sa 15^{L} omits half of Acts 7:3, stopping with ϩ̅ⲙ ⲡⲉ̣ⲕⲁϩ and the beginning of Acts 7:4, starting the text at ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲉⲭⲁⲗⲇⲁⲓⲟⲥ.

Acts 7:7 sa 15^{L} has ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ instead of ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛ̅ϭⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, a variant reading also attested in mae 3, while sa 291^{L} replaces the phrase by ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ only.

Acts 7:13 sa 291^{L} has ⲡⲙⲉϩⲥⲛⲁⲩ instead of (ⲙ)ⲡⲙⲉϩⲥⲉⲡⲥⲛⲁⲩ.

Acts 7:31 sa 15^{L} adds ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ ⲉⲥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ after ϣⲱⲡⲉ, sa 295^{L} adds ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ only. Similar additions are recorded for Greek manuscripts.[16] However, a Greek *Vorlage* seems unlikely.

Acts 7:33 sa 15^{L} alters ⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲣⲁⲧⲕ̅ to ⲉⲧϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲩⲉⲣⲏⲧⲉ.

Acts 7:34 sa 15^{L} and sa 295^{L} omit ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϭⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲁϫⲟⲟⲩⲕ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲕⲏⲙⲉ.

Acts 7:38 sa 357^{L} omits ϩⲓ ⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ.

Acts 7:39 sa 357^{L} omits ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲩϩⲏⲧ.

Acts 7:52 sa 440^{L} omits ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ.

Acts 7:57 sa 15^{L} adds ⲧⲏⲣⲉϥ after ⲡⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ and has ⲁⲩϫⲓϣⲕⲁⲕ instead of ⲁⲩⲁϣⲕⲁⲕ.

Acts 8:1 sa 15^{L} rephrases the first part of the verse to ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲩⲛⲉⲩⲧⲟⲕ̣ⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲉ̣ϥⲛⲟⲃⲉ· ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙⲡⲉ{ⲛⲟⲩ}ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϭⲓ ⲟⲩ{ⲛϭⲓ ⲛ}ⲑⲗⲓⲯⲓⲥ· ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲟⲕⲙⲟⲥ ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲕⲕ<ⲗ>ⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲉⲛ ⲑⲓⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ instead of ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲩⲛⲉⲩⲇⲟⲕⲉⲓ ⲡⲉ (sa 456 omits ⲡⲉ) ⲉⲡⲉϥϩⲱⲧⲃ̅: ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ (ϩⲙ̅ ⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ sa 61, sa 456) ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ϭⲓ (sa 34 adds ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ) ⲟⲩⲑⲗⲓⲯⲓⲥ (ⲛ̅ⲑⲗⲓⲯⲓⲥ sa 34) ⲙⲛ̅ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̅ⲇⲓⲱⲅⲙⲟⲥ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉϫⲛ̅ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲉⲧϩⲛ̅ ⲑ̅ⲓ̅ⲗ̅ⲏ̅ⲙ̅ (ⲛ̅ⲑⲓⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲏⲙ sa 17). Furthermore sa 15^{L} has ϩⲉⲛⲉⲭⲱⲣⲁ instead of ⲉⲛⲉⲭⲱⲣⲁ and ⲉⲩⲁⲩϭ̣ⲱ instead of

[15] ECM *Acts 1.1*, p. 129–30.

[16] ECM *Acts 1.1*, p. 219.

ⲉⲁⲩϭⲱ (ⲁⲩϭⲱ sa 61). This verse should be compared with patristic sources.

Acts 8:7 sa 15^{L} has ⲙⲡⲟⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ instead of ⲛ̄ⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ and omits ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ.

Acts 8:9 sa 15^{L} has ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ϫⲉ instead of ⲉⲡⲉϥⲣⲁⲛ ⲡⲉ.

Acts 9:35 sa 291^{L} omits ⲛⲓⲙ after ⲟⲩⲟⲛ.

Acts 9:38 sa 359^{L} has [ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ]ⲣⲟⲩ[ⲥⲱⲧⲙ] ⲇ̣ⲉ ⲛ̣ϭ̣ⲓ̣ ⲙ̣[ⲙⲁⲑⲏ]ⲧ̣ⲏ̣ⲥ instead of ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲇⲉ; ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ is also attested in fa 8 and Bohairic. sa 291^{L} has ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ· ⲛⲏⲩ· instead of ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ.

Acts 9:41 sa 291^{L} has ⲧⲏⲭⲏⲣⲁ instead of ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲭⲏⲣⲁ, obviously a mistake.

Acts 9:42 sa 291^{L} has ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ instead of ⲉⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ.

Acts 10:4 sa 15^{L} and sa 356^{L} add ⲛⲁϥ after the first ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ.

Acts 10:8 sa 15^{L} has ⲁϥϫⲟ ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲩ̄ϩ̄ⲣⲁ instead of ⲁϥϫⲟⲟⲩⲥⲉ, a reading which makes no sense and is certainly a mistake.

Acts 10:25 sa 291^{L} omits ϩⲁⲣⲁⲧϥ.

Acts 10:29 sa 291^{L} has ϩⲛ̇ ⲟⲩⲁϣ ⲛϣⲁϫⲉ· instead of ϩⲛ ⲟⲩ ⲛϣⲁϫⲉ; Bohairic has ⲉⲑⲃⲉ ⲁϣ ⲛ̄ϩⲱⲃ.

Acts 10:30 sa 291^{L} has ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̇ϫⲡ ⲯⲓⲧⲉ· ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ· ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̇ⲧⲉ ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ· instead of ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ϫⲡ̄ ⲯⲓⲧⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ; mae 3 has ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ as well.[17]

Acts 10:31 sa 291^{L} has ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲣ̇ ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ· ⲛⲁⲕ· instead of ⲉⲩⲣ̄ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ (sa 17, sa 18) or ⲁⲩⲣ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ (sa 5; ⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ sa 34).

Acts 10:35 sa 291^{L} adds ⲙ̇ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ· after ϩⲏⲧϥ.

Acts 10:37 sa 15^{L} adds ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲥ̄· after ⲧⲅⲁⲗⲓⲗⲁⲓⲁ.

Acts 10:42 sa 15^{L} omits ⲉⲕⲏⲣⲩⲥⲥⲉ (ⲉϯⲥⲃⲱ sa 17).

Acts 11:7 In sa 15^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the first instance sa 15^{L} omits ⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ.

Acts 11:9 sa 291^{L} has ⲁⲧⲉⲥⲙⲏ̣ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲓ instead of ⲁⲧⲉⲥⲙⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ̄.

Acts 12:5 sa 15^{L} changes the word order from ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩⲣⲙ̄ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ to ϩⲓⲧⲙ ⲡ<ⲛ>ⲟⲩⲧⲉ· ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ.

Acts 12:10 In sa 15^{L} the verse occurs twice; both times only this manuscript has ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲙⲉϩⲥⲛⲁⲩ instead of ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ. In fact, this variant is closer to the Greek δευτέραν.

Acts 12:11 In sa 15^{L} the verse occurs twice, both times ⲛⲁⲙⲉ is omitted.

Acts 13:4 sa 15^{L} has ⲁⲩⲥϭⲏⲣ instead of ⲁⲩⲉⲓ, which is certainly a mistake since the verbal form occurs later on in the verse and also again in sa 15^{L}.

Acts 13:5 sa 291^{L} has ⲙ̇ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ instead of ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲁϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ.[18]

Acts 13:7 For ⲉⲃⲁⲣⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ sa 15^{L} changes the word order and has ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ instead of ⲥⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ.[19]

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[17] ECM *Acts 1.1*, p. 356.

[18] ECM *Acts 1.1*, p. 438.

[19] For the replacement of the name, see ECM *Acts 1.1*, p. 441.

Acts 13:25 sa 295^{L} omits ⲛⲉϥϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲡⲉ (sa 15^{L}, sa 63, sa 309^{L} omit ⲡⲉ) ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩⲣⲙ̄ ⲙⲙⲏⲏϣⲉ and sa 309^{L} adds ⲛ̇ϭⲓ ⲡⲉⲧϫⲟⲟⲣ ⲉ̇ⲣⲟⲓ after ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱï.

Acts 13:36 sa 15^{L} omits ⲉⲡⲧⲁⲕⲟ at the end of the verse.

Acts 13:38 sa 300^{L} has ⲥ̣ⲉⲧⲁϣⲉⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲛⲁⲛ instead of ⲥⲉⲧⲁϣⲉⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲛⲏⲧⲛ̄.

Acts 14:13 sa 15^{L} adds ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ after ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ and has ⲛⲣⲣⲱ for ⲉⲣⲛ̄ ⲛⲣⲟ.

Acts 14:15 sa 15^{L} adds ⲙⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ after ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ.

Acts 14:17 At the beginning of the verse sa 15^{L} has the nonsense reading ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲟⲩⲓ ⲧⲉⲓ instead of ⲕⲁⲓⲧⲟⲓ ⲟⲛ; furthermore sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ instead of ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩϩⲏⲧ.

Acts 14:19 sa 291^{L} has ϩⲛ̇ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̇ⲓⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ instead of ϩⲉⲛⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲇⲁⲓ̈.

Acts 15:22 sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲧⲉⲛϫⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ instead of ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ (ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϫⲟⲟⲩⲥⲉ sa 5, sa 17, sa 18, sa 383).

Acts 15:23 sa 291^{L} adds ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ after ⲛ̄ⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ.

Acts 15:24 sa 291^{L} adds ⲉⲓ after ϩⲟⲓⲛⲉ, which is certainly a mistake.

Acts 15:25 sa 15^{L} has ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲛ̣ϫⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ instead of ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲟⲟⲩ.

Acts 15:26 sa 15^{L} has ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ instead of ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ.

Acts 15:29 sa 15^{L} alters the word order from ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϣⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ to ⲁⲩ<ⲱ> ⲧⲡⲟⲣⲛⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲁⲩ; sa 291^{L} omits ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟϥ and ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄.[20]

Acts 15:36 In sa 15^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the first instance sa 15^{L} has ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ instead of ⲡⲁⲩⲗⲟⲥ and ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ instead of ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ. The replacement of 'Lord' by 'God' is also attested in Greek, although a connection is unlikely.[21] In the second instance, sa 15^{L} omits ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ (ⲛⲁⲩ sa 5, sa 15^{L} (first instance), sa 34, 374).

Acts 15:38 In sa 15^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the first instance sa 15^{L} has ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ instead of ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ.

Acts 15:39 In sa 15^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the first instance sa 15^{L} adds ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ after ⲁϥϫⲓ.

Acts 15:40 In sa 15^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the second instance sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ instead of ⲛⲧⲉⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲙⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ.

Acts 16:1 sa 15^{L} has ⲙⲁⲑⲉⲟⲥ instead of ⲧⲓⲙⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ.

Acts 16:2 sa 15^{L} has ⲛϭⲓ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏϩ ϩⲉⲛ instead of ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲛ̄.

Acts 16:3 sa 15^{L} has ⲉⲉⲓ instead of ⲉⲧⲣⲉϥⲉⲓ and adds ⲑⲟⲧⲉ after ⲉⲧⲃⲉ. Furthermore, the manuscript has ⲉⲧ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁ instead of ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲙⲁ.

Acts 16:4 sa 15^{L} adds ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲟⲗⲏ after ⲉⲛⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ. In Greek ἐντολάς is attested by GA 05 and P127$^{vid.}$.[22]

Acts 16:26 sa 291^{L} adds ⲙ̇ⲡⲉϣⲧⲉⲕⲟ· after ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ.[23]

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[20] ECM *Acts 1.2*, p. 562.

[21] ECM *Acts 1.2*, p. 569

[22] ECM *Acts 1.2*, p. 578.

[23] ECM *Acts 1.2*, pp. 606–607, for the same addition in Greek manuscripts.

Acts 16:29 In sa 291^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the second instance sa 291^{L} has ϩⲛ ⲟⲩⲥ̇ⲧⲱⲧ instead of ⲉϥⲥⲧⲱⲧ.

Acts 16:31 In sa 291^{L} the verse occurs twice. In the second instance sa 291^{L} omits ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕ but adds ⲧⲏⲣϥ after ⲡⲉⲕⲏⲓ.[24]

Acts 17:18 sa 360^{L} has ϩⲛ ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ ϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ϫⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲧⲁϣⲉⲟⲉ̈ⲓϣ instead of ϩⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲡⲉϫⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲉϥⲧⲁϣⲉⲟⲉⲓϣ.

Acts 17:19 sa 360^{L} has ⲉ̇ⲧⲉⲓⲥⲃⲱ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲓ instead of ⲟⲩ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉ̈ⲓⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̄ⲃⲣ̄ⲣⲉ.

Acts 17:24 sa 15^{L} has ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣ͡ϥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛϩⲏⲧϥ instead of ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥⲧⲁⲙⲓⲉ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ̄ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ.

Acts 18:12 sa 15^{L} has ⲛϩⲩⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ instead of ⲛⲁⲛⲑⲩⲡⲁⲧⲟⲥ and omits ϩⲓ ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲡ and ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩϫⲓⲧϥ̄ ⲉⲡⲃⲏⲙⲁ.

Acts 18:13 sa 15^{L} omits ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ.

Acts 18:27 sa 15^{L} adds ⲛⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ after ⲉⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲟ and has ⲉⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ· ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉϥⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ· instead of ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ at the end of the verse.

Acts 20:25 sa 15^{L} has ⲉⲓⲕⲩⲣ͡ⲩⲥⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲙ͡ⲛⲧⲧ͡ⲣⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ instead of ⲉ̈ⲓⲕⲩⲣⲏⲥⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲓ̄ⲥ̄; in some Bohairic manuscripts ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫϯ occurs as well.[25]

Acts 20:27 sa 15^{L} has ⲙⲡⲉⲓϩⲱⲡ instead of ⲙ̄ⲡⲓϩⲟⲡⲧ̄, which is certainly a mistake by the scribe.

Acts 20:28 sa 15^{L} adds ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ after ⲡⲟϩⲉ ⲧⲏⲣ .

Acts 20:31 sa 15^{L} has ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲛ̣ⲁⲟⲩⲁ ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲉⲛ instead of ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲡⲟⲩⲁ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲉⲛⲣⲙ̄ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ.

Acts 20:32 sa 15^{L} omits ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϭⲉ ϯϯ ⲙ̄ⲙⲱⲧⲛ̄.

Acts 20:34 sa 15^{L} omits ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄.

Acts 22:8 sa 15^{L} has ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ instead of ⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ and adds ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕ after ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲕⲡⲏⲧ.

Acts 22:9 sa 15^{L} has ⲉⲧϣⲁϫⲉ instead of ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧϣⲁϫⲉ.

Acts 22:17 sa 15^{L} has ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ instead of ⲁ̈ⲓϣⲱⲡⲉ.

Acts 22:18 sa 15^{L} adds ⲉϥϣⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲙⲙⲁⲓ after ⲉⲣⲟϥ and omits ⲛⲁ̈ⲓ after ⲙⲙⲟⲥ.

Acts 22:19 sa 15^{L} has ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ instead of ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ.

Acts 22:20 sa 15^{L} has ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲧⲱⲃ͡ϩ instead of ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁϩⲱⲧⲃ̄.

Acts 23:3 sa 15^{L} omits ⲛⲁϥ and ⲕⲟⲩⲉϩⲥⲁϩⲛⲉ and has ⲉⲕϩⲟⲟⲥ instead of ⲕϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ.

Acts 23:5 sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲉⲥⲛⲏⲩ instead of ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ.

Acts 23:6 sa 291^{L} has ⲛ̇ⲛⲥⲁⲇⲇⲟⲩⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ instead of ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲡⲁⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲇⲇⲟⲩⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ, obviously a mistake.

Acts 23:8 sa 15^{L} has ⲥⲉϩⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲉⲓ instead of ⲥⲉϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ and ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ· ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲩⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ instead of ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄.

Acts 24:3 sa 15^{L} has ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲓⲟ instead of ⲥⲉⲧⲁ̈ⲓⲟ and omits ϩⲙ̄ ⲙⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲙ̄ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲟⲧ.

Acts 24:16 sa 15^{L} has ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉϣϣⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲍⲉⲕⲁⲧⲏⲕⲟⲣⲓⲁ, while sa 5 reads ⲛⲁ̈ⲓ ⲉϣϣⲉ ⲉⲩϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉ̈ⲓⲙⲁ· ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲣⲓ, sa 34 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲉϣϣⲉ ⲡⲉ· ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲙ̄

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[24] For Greek variants, see ECM *Acts 1.2*, p. 611.

[25] ECM *Acts 1.2*, pp. 774–775.

ⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲡⲉ· ⲛⲥⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲓⲅⲟⲣⲉⲓ· and sa 375 [ⲛⲁⲓ] ⲉ̣ϣϣⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲙ̄ [ⲡⲉⲓⲙ]ⲁ̣ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲕⲁⲧⲏ[ⲅⲟⲣ]ⲉ̣ⲓ̣.

Acts 24:22 sa 15L has ⲉⲡⲁⲓ instead of ⲉⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ.

Acts 24:24 sa 15L has ⲧⲉⲃⲡⲓⲥϯⲥ instead of ⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ and alters ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ to ⲉⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅.

Acts 24:25 sa 15L has ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲁϯⲁ instead of ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁ, ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁϥ ϫⲉ instead of ⲁϥⲟⲩⲱϣⲃ̄ ϫⲉ and ⲉⲓϣⲁⲛϭⲙ ⲡⲉⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ instead of ⲉϊϣⲁⲛϩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ (ⲇⲉ sa 375) ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ.

Acts 24:27 sa 15L omits ⲉⲡⲉϥⲙⲁ and renames ⲡⲟⲣⲕϊⲟⲥ ⲫⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ to ⲡⲟⲣⲭⲓⲟⲥ ⲡⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ.

Acts 27:28 sa 296L adds ⲉⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ after the first occurrence of ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲗⲓⲥ, certainly a mistake since the phrase ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ occurs later on in the verse.

Acts 27:33 sa 296L omits ⲇⲉ ϩⲱⲛ.

Acts 27:34 sa 291L omits ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁϊ.

Acts 27:35 sa 296L omits ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ.

Acts 27:36 sa 291L has ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲛ̇ instead of ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲣⲟⲧ ⲇⲉ ⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ.

Acts 27:37 sa 291L omits ⲧⲏⲣⲛ̄.

Acts 27:41 sa 440L omits ⲡⲉϥⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲁϥⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲛϣⲟⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲩ·.

James 1:18 In sa 15L the verse occurs twice. In the second instance sa 15L adds ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ after ⲗⲁⲁⲩ thus rephrasing the latter part of the verse (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 78).

James 1:22 In sa 15L the verse occurs twice, in the first instance ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ at the end of the verse is replaced by ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 84).

James 1:24 sa 15L replaces ⲙⲙⲟⲥ at the end of the verse by the nonsense reading ⲙⲉⲥ ⲡⲉ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 86).

James 1:27 sa 291L adds ⲛⲓⲙ after ⲉⲧⲱⲗⲙ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 91).

James 2:1 sa 291L omits ⲙⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 92).[26]

James 2:9 sa 15L omits ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ by mistake (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 102).

James 2:12 sa 291L omits ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ; the omission of καὶ οὕτως ποιεῖτε is also attested in GA 1 (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 106). However, an intra-versional development is more likely than a Greek *Vorlage*.

James 2:14 sa 15L omits ⲉⲧⲟⲩϫⲟϥ at the end of the verse (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 111).

James 2:16 sa 291L adds ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ at the end of the verse (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 113).[27]

James 3:10 The lection of sa 291L ends within the verse, omitting the second half (οὐ χρή, ἀδελφοί μου, ταῦτα οὕτως γίνεσθαι. Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 140).

James 3:12 sa 15L rephrases the complete verse to ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲏⲧⲉⲓ ϣⲁⲣⲉⲃⲱ ⲛⲕⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ϫⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲏ ϣⲁⲣⲉⲃⲱ ⲛⲉⲗⲟⲟⲗ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲕⲉⲛⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉϣ

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[26] The text has been retroverted as variant 'e' in ECM *Cath.*, p. 25.

[27] The text has been retroverted as variant 'c' in ECM *Cath.*, pp. 38–39.

ⲙⲉⲗⲉϩ ⲉⲣ ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϥϩⲟⲗϭ instead of ⲛⲁⲥⲛⲏⲩ ⲙⲏ ⲟⲩⲛ ϭⲟⲙ (ϣϭⲟⲙ sa 605; sa 604 not preserved for this word) ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲟⲩⲃⲱ ⲛⲕⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ϫⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲏ ⲛⲧⲉⲟⲩⲃⲱ (ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲃⲱ sa 33) ⲛⲉⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲧⲁⲩⲉ ⲕⲛⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛⲛⲉϣ ⲙⲗϩ ⲣ ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϥϩⲟⲗϭ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 142).

James 4:11 In sa 291L the verse occurs twice. In the second instance sa 291L has the second having ⲉϥⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉϥⲕⲣⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϥⲥⲟⲛ, certainly dittography (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 161).

James 5:18 sa 305L omits ⲟⲩⲱ creating a variant reading ἔδωκε instead of ἐβλάστησεν; this is attested in GA 2523, Latin and Syriac (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 199). However, an intra-versional development seems more plausible.

James 5:19 sa 305L has [ⲧⲡⲓ]ⲥ̣ⲧⲓⲥ instead of ⲧⲙⲉ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 200).

1 Peter 1:9 In sa 15L the verse occurs twice. In the second instance sa 15L explicates ⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ: ⲡϣⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 217).

1 Peter 1:11 In sa 15L the verse occurs twice. In the first instance sa 15L has ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲓⲙ̣ⲉ 'we know' (γινώσκομεν) instead of ⲉⲩϣⲓⲛⲉ '(they are) searching' (ἐραυνῶντες), altering the sense of the verse completely. In the second instance, sa 15L omits ⲉⲩϣⲓⲛⲉ as well as ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ after ⲛⲙⲙⲟⲕϩⲥ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, pp. 219–220).

1 Peter 1:12 In sa 15L the verse occurs twice. In the second instance sa 15L omits ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲱⲧⲛ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ (ἀνηγγέλη ὑμῖν) (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 223).

1 Peter 1:17 sa 291L adds ⲙⲙⲱⲧⲛ after ⲡⲟⲩⲁ but omits ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲛⲉϥⲃⲏⲩⲉ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 230).

1 Peter 2:5 sa 15L omits the words from ⲉⲩϣⲙϣⲉ to ⲙⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲓⲕⲟⲛ, which is certainly due to homeoteleuton (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 248).

1 Peter 2:21 sa 291L omits ϩⲱⲱϥ at the end of the verse (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 273).

1 Peter 3:20 sa 15L has ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ instead of ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲣ ⲁⲧⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ, certainly a mistake (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 310).

1 Peter 4:8 In sa 291L ⲁϫⲛ ⲱϫⲛ (ἐκτενῆ) is omitted, which is certainly a mistake even if the omission is also attested in GA 2147 and 2652 (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, pp. 328–329).

1 Peter 4:10 sa 291L omits ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, pp. 330–331).

1 Peter 4:11 sa 15L omits ⲙⲛ ⲡⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 333).

1 Peter 5:5 sa 15L omits ⲟⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ (ⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓϩⲉ sa 31, ⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ sa 33, ⲛϯϩⲉ sa 606) (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 354).

1 Peter 5:7 sa 15L has ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲉⲛϣⲟⲩϣⲟⲩ instead of ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲣⲟⲟⲩϣ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 357).

1 Peter 5:12 sa 15L adds ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ after ⲥⲟⲩⲗⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ/ⲥⲓⲗⲟⲩⲁⲛⲟⲥ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, pp. 365–366).

1 Peter 5:14 sa 15L omits ⲟⲩⲡⲓ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, pp. 367–368).

2 Peter 1:1 In sa 15L the verse occurs twice. In the first instance sa 15L omits ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭ̅ⲥ̅ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, pp. 369–370).

2 Peter 1:2 sa 635L adds ⲛⲏⲧⲛ after ⲧⲉⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ. In sa 15L the verse occurs twice. In the second instance sa 15L omits ⲙⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ. In sa 291L the complete verse is omitted within the lection (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 371).

2 Peter 1:3 In sa 15L the verse occurs twice. In the second instance sa 15L has ⲛⲏⲧⲛ instead of ⲛⲁⲛ. At the end of the verse in both instances sa 15L has ϩⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧϥ ⲙⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ while other manuscripts read ϩⲓⲧⲙ ⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ (sa 33, sa 291L) or ϩⲙ ⲡⲥⲟⲡⲥ (sa 606). Furthermore sa 15L adds ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ/ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲉⲛ in both cases (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, pp. 372–373).

2 Peter 1:4 sa 291L has ⲛⲁⲛ instead of ⲛⲏⲧⲛ and adds ⲙⲉⲛ after ⲉⲁⲧⲉⲧⲛⲡⲱⲧ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, pp. 374–375).

2 Peter 1:8 sa 15L has ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ instead of ⲙⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 380).

2 Peter 1:10 sa 291L omits ⲛϩⲟⲩⲟ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 382).

2 Peter 1:14 sa 15L has ⲡⲁϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ instead of ⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 387).

2 Peter 1:15 sa 15L adds ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ after ⲉⲃⲟⲗ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 388).

2 Peter 1:21 sa 291L omits ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, pp. 398–399).

2 Peter 3:1–2 sa 291L omits ⲉⲓⲥ at the beginning of 2 Peter 3:1 and alters ⲛⲧⲉ/ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ to ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ; in 2 Peter 3:2 sa 291L omits ⲙⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ. sa 15L omits the end of 2 Peter 3:1 and the beginning of 2 Peter 3:2 due to homeoteleuton (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, pp. 436–437).

2 Peter 3:3 sa 15L and sa 296L have ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ instead of ⲛⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 440).

2 Peter 3:4 sa 291L omits ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ/ⲛϯϩⲉ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 443).

2 Peter 3:5 sa 291L omits ϫⲓⲛ ⲛϣⲟⲣⲡ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 445).

2 Peter 3:11 sa 15L omits ⲛⲧⲉⲓϩⲉ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 457).

2 Peter 3:12 sa 15L has ⲛⲁⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲉ (παράγω) instead of ⲛⲁⲃⲱⲗ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 460).

2 Peter 3:13 sa 15L has ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲥ instead of ⲟⲩⲕⲁϩ, certainly a mistake (Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 461).

Revelation 8:1 In sa 294L the verse occurs twice. In the first instance sa 294L has [ⲛⲧ]ⲉⲣⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ [ⲉⲟⲩⲱ]ⲛ̣ (following Askeland) instead of ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲱⲛ.[28]

Revelation 11:1 sa 394L has ⲉϥϫⲱ instead of ⲉⲩϫⲱ,[29] thus making the reed (κάλαμος) speak; in GA 01, too, λέγει is attested as the first hand reading, but the variant in sa 394L is an intra-versional development.

These variant readings show that, while a substantial number of peculiarities are attested in Sahidic lectionaries, they are for the most part limited to individual manuscripts. Furthermore it should be noted that the number of variants in lectionaries does not exceed the number of variants attested in continuous-text manuscripts, with the sole exception of sa 15L.

[28] Askeland, 'An Eclectic Edition', p. 54.

[29] Askeland, 'An Eclectic Edition', p. 58.

Among the manuscripts examined, sa 15^{L} stands out for its number of variation units. This witness is also the only complete Sahidic lectionary so far known to have been preserved. The parchment codex was found at the Monastery of St Michael in the Fayyum and is commonly dated to the ninth century. According to its colophon, it was originally written for a church in the unidentified village of Tmouou somewhere in the Fayyum.[30] Even if sa 15^{L} is a manuscript that needs an in-depth study of its extraordinary variant readings, its value for New Testament textual criticism is limited since it was written by a very negligent scribe. This is illustrated in the following examples from Acts 2:12:

sa 15^{L} ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲱϣⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲉⲣ ϣⲡ<ⲏ>ⲣⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲁϩⲣ͞ⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ·
ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓϩⲱⲃ··

sa 5, 17, 34, 43, 293^{L}, 302^{L}, 373, 379, 381, 383
ⲁⲩⲡⲱϣ͞ⲥ °ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲁⲡⲟⲣⲉⲓ ⲟⲩⲁ ⸀ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩ͞ⲣⲛ ⲟⲩⲁ
ⲉⲩϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉϊⲱⲃ·
°sa 17 (sa 43, 379, 381 not preserved for this word) |
⸀ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩⲣⲛ̄ sa 17 (sa 381 not preserved for this word)

In sa 15^{L} the beginning of the verse is altered through a mistake by the scribe which hardly makes any sense. While the majority reading is 'And (δέ) they all were amazed and they were perplexed (ἀπορέω) one by one saying: What is this thing?', the addition of a single ⲱ/ω in sa 15^{L} would result in a reading that may be translated as 'And, well (δέ), the breadth (sg.) all (pl.) and they marvelled one by one saying: What is this thing?'. Alternatively, the beginning of the verse could be read as ⲁⲩⲱⲡ ⲱϣⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ 'And (δέ) they counted all breadth', but this would put δέ in third place in the sentence. It is obvious that the reading of sa 15^{L} is nonsense and it may easily be amended. In the second alteration in sa 15^{L} a synonym is used: ⲁⲩⲉⲣ ϣⲡ<ⲏ>ⲣⲉ instead of ⲁⲩⲁⲡⲟⲣⲉⲓ is a replacement of a Greek word by a Coptic phrase which fits the meaning quite well. In the second case it is not possible to exclude a variant ⲁⲩⲉⲣ ϣⲡ<ⲏ>ⲣⲉ even though no other manuscripts attest the phrase.

[30] L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), pp. 69–81 No. 51 with plates 64, 306–17, 318b, 319b, 320a–b, 322a, 325a–b. See also Schmitz & Mink, *Liste 2.2*, pp. 1080–1083; Schmitz, *Verhältnis*, p. 7.

More problematic are those cases in which variant readings in sa 15[L] are wrong from the point of view of the New Testament scholar but are written in correct and meaningful Sahidic, such as John 3:14:

sa 15[L] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ· ϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲙⲡⲉϥϩⲟ ϩⲉⲛ ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲙⲟⲥ·
ⲧⲁⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉ ϩⲁⲡⲥ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲙⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ·

sa 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 19, 106, 115, 116, 136, 137, 167, 177, 178, 181, 190, 196
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ ϫⲓⲥⲉ ⸢ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟϥ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ·
ⲧⲁï ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉ °ϩⲁⲡⲥ̄ ⸢ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩϫⲉⲥⲧ̄ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ·
⸢ⲙ̄ϥⲟϥ sa 3, 4, 5, 177, 178 | °178 | ⸢ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁϫⲉⲥⲧ̣̄ sa 178

The form of this verse in sa 15[L] can be rendered literally as ‘And according to the way Moses exalted his face in the desert, that is the way it is necessary that the Son of Man is exalted’ instead of the majority reading ‘And according to the way Moses exalted the snake in the desert, that is the way it is necessary that the Son of Man is exalted’. It is certain that the scribe made a mistake, since ⲙ̄ⲡϩⲟϥ and ⲙⲡⲉϥϩⲟ are nearly identical except for an added ⲉ in sa 15[L]. At face value, the text of sa 15[L] creates a variant reading which has no other attestation elsewhere.

Another strange example in sa 15[L] is the replacement of ⲡⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ (ὁ Δίκαιος) by ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ (ὁ Διάβολος) in Acts 3:14. It would be of interest to know how the congregation reacted to the reading that the Jews disowned Jesus and the devil simultaneously!

A study by Förster of John 20:15, the only verse whose Coptic text has so far been examined in a dedicated article, reveals that there are parallels in Coptic apocryphal literature and homilies which help to explain the variant.[31] In sa 15[L], this verse reads: ‘Jesus said to her: “Woman, dry the tears, which one do you search for?” This one, she thought: It is the gardener. She said to him: “If you took my son, say to me where you put him and I will take him and give to you your wage”.’ The scribe had in mind some stories in which the biblical narration was expanded and altered, leading to this change.

Nevertheless, other examples show how the text in Sahidic lectionaries has been altered to fit the needs of the liturgical occasion. Some of these are also attested by sa 15[L]. The omission of entire phrases is attested in Acts 7:2 by sa 15[L] and sa 291[L]. Both manuscripts start their lections with ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ (‘the God of glory’), eliminating the introductory phrase at the be-

[31] Förster, ‘… damit ich dir deinen Lohn gebe’, pp. 96–100.

ginning of the the verse. A second example is Acts 7:34 where sa 15L and sa 295L omit ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ϭⲉ ⲁⲙⲟⲩ ⲧⲁϫⲟⲟⲩⲕ ⲉϩⲣⲁï ⲉⲕⲏⲙⲉ at the end of the pericope. It is not entirely clear why God's command to Moses to go to Egypt is left out, but since these lections are assigned to Christmas Eve there is a logic in concluding the text with God's promise to free his people from their oppression in Egypt. In most other cases, the textual evidence is inconclusive because omissions are most likely to have been caused by homeoteleuton.

Added words or phrases occur frequently. For the most part phrases are added that explicate parts of the verse, such as ⲛ̇ϭⲓ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ('namely Jesus') in John 4:16 (sa 291L), ⲡⲉⲛϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ ('our Lord') in John 11:9 (sa 324L), or ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ('he said') in John 3:5 (sa 305L) and ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲩ ('he said to them') in John 18:8 (sa 16L). While these additions are not arbitrary, they remain inconclusive since they are limited to single manuscripts and added without any recognisable system. The same is true for textual alterations, since the number of examples that are clearly intentional is small. In 2 Peter 3:3 sa 15L and sa 296L have ⲛⲛⲉⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ 'in the (final) times' instead of ⲛⲛⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ 'in the (final) days'. Why 'days' is replaced by 'times' remains unclear, but could be caused by the liturgical usage of the text. Another alteration which may reflect a liturgical occasion is included in sa 16L. In John 8:12, in the lection for the sixth hour of the day on Tuesday of Easter Week, sa 16L replaces ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ ('the light of life') by ⲙ̇ⲡⲟⲩⲟ̇ⲉ̈ⲓ̈ⲛ ϣⲁ ⲉ̇ⲛⲉϩ ('the eternal light').

CONCLUSION

Notwithstanding the poor state of preservation of the manuscripts and the limited number of texts included here, this article has shown that there is no evidence in the Sahidic textual tradition of the New Testament for a specific lectionary text. Introductory phrases corresponding to τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ are not found, nor does there appear to be any systematic way of altering the text of pericopes. A number of small adaptations are attested, showing that the biblical text has been altered in a few cases, but the number and significance of these does not compare with the lectionary tradition in Greek. All in all, the text of Sahidic lectionaries seems to be in line with the majority of the continuous-text New Testament manuscripts, with the sole exception of sa 15L—one of the most interesting but also most obscure codices to be preserved.

A rather unexpected observation made while comparing manuscript collations for the present study is of some importance for the future study of the Sahidic New Testament and concerns the homogeneity of the texts. Although John is attested by the highest number of manuscripts, its text is

far more uniform than that of Acts which has the second largest number.[32] James, 1 Peter and 2 Peter, preserved in very few manuscripts (with only two or three witnesses in each verse), have extremely divergent texts. The evidence for Revelation is inconclusive.[33] The same observation is likely to hold true for the Pauline Epistles, which have not yet been examined. Since the number of manuscripts for the different epistles is, according to the SMR database, nearly as high as that for Acts, the spectrum of variants will certainly exceed John and perhaps also Acts. Evidence for a specific Sahidic lectionary text, however, is not to be expected.

[32] The Acts codices sa 17, sa 18, sa 34, and sa 43 in particular show many variants.

[33] Taking into account the variant readings listed in the critical apparatus, Revelation has nearly as many variants as Acts although Revelation is attested by fewer manuscripts: see Askeland, 'An Eclectic Edition', pp. 36–38, 41–79.

APPENDIX: LIST OF PERICOPES IN SAHIDIC MANUSCRIPTS

The following list contains all Sahidic pericopes from John, Acts, 1 Peter, 2 Peter, James and/or Revelation attested in Sahidic lectionaries and some typikon-manuscripts currently listed in the SMR database of Coptic manuscripts; Greek and Arabic pericopes are not included. Since most of the manuscripts are fragmentary, a lacuna is indicated by ^{lac} before or after a verse number. Not all lectionaries display variant readings. For further information, see the SMR database.

John

Passage	Manuscript
1:1–5^{lac}	sa 411^{L}
1:1–13	sa 293^{L}
1:1–14	sa 15^{L} | sa 295^{L}
1:6	sa 396^{L} (initium only)
1:6–9^{lac}	sa 295^{L}
^{lac}1:10–11, *12, 14	sa 14^{L}
1:35–51	sa 14^{L}
1:43	sa 396^{L} (initium only)
1:43–51	sa 15^{L}
^{lac}1:45–46^{lac}	sa 297^{L}
2:1–11	sa 14^{L} | sa 15^{L}
^{lac}2:5–11	sa 326^{L}
^{lac}2:6–11	sa 294^{L}
2:12–22	sa 295^{L}
2:18–22	sa 294^{L}
^{lac}2:23–25^{lac}	sa 294^{L}
3:1–8^{lac}	sa 306^{L}
3:1–11	sa 14^{L}
3:1–15	sa 15^{L}
^{lac}3:26–28	sa 296^{L}
4:5–12^{lac}	sa 339^{L}
4:5–30	sa 291^{L}
4:5, 6–11, 13–15	sa 301^{L}
^{lac}4:6–14	sa 310^{L}
4:19–29	sa 293^{L}
^{lac}4:19–20^{lac}	sa 297^{L}
5:1–3, 5–14	sa 291^{L}
5:21–29	sa 15^{L}
5:33	sa 396^{L} (initium only)
6:1–3, *4, 5–14	sa 347^{L}
6:5–14	sa 15^{L}
6:8–9^{lac}	sa 294^{L}
6:15–24^{lac}	sa 301^{L}
6:15–26	sa 294^{L}
6:27–58	sa 16^{L}
^{lac}6:47–48^{lac}	sa 318^{L}
6:62–69	sa 293^{L}
^{lac}7:7^{lac}	sa 350
7:14–17^{lac}	sa 291^{L}
7:14–24	sa 15^{L}
7:37–45^{lac}	sa 302^{L}
7:37–46^{lac}	sa 305^{L}
^{lac}7:38–40, 42–44^{lac}	sa 343^{L}
8:12–20	sa 16^{L}
8:21–28	sa 16^{L}
8:51–59	sa 16^{L}
10:7, 11–18	sa 15^{L}
10:9–18	sa 14^{L}
10:11–18	sa 14^{L}
^{lac}10:12–18	sa 407^{L}
^{lac}10:12–15, 16–18	sa 339^{L}
10:14–21	sa 16^{L}
10:23–28	sa 16^{L}
10:29–42	sa 16^{L}
^{lac}10:29–30^{lac}	sa 294^{L}
11:5–9	sa 324^{L}
11:46–53	sa 16^{L}
11:55–57	sa 16^{L}
12:1–8	sa 16^{L}

[lac]12:6–8	sa 296[L]
12:12–19	sa 15[L]
12:12–28	sa 14[L]
12:12–36	sa 440[L]
12:12–17, 18–23	sa 301[L]
12:12–14, *15[lac]	sa 345[L]
12:20–32	sa 15[L]
12:24	sa 663[L] (initium only)
12:26–27[lac]	sa 300[L]
12:29	sa 396[L] (initium only)
12:35–42	sa 305[L]
12:35–43	sa 16[L]
13:1–20	sa 16[L]
13:21–30	sa 16[L] | sa 349[L]
13:33–18:2 (parts: 13:33–14:25; 14:26–15:25; 15:26–16:33; 17:1–26; 18:1–2)	sa 16[L]
14:26–15:1, 3–11[lac]	sa 297[L]
14:26–15:9[lac]	sa 336[L]
14:31–15:16	sa 14[L]
14:31[d]–15:5	sa 294[L]
[lac]15:3–4	sa 294[L]
15:7–17	sa 15[L]
[lac]15:10–25	sa 299[L]
15:15	sa 663[L] (initium only)
15:26–16:7[lac]	sa 299[L]
15:26–16:13	sa 15[L]
15:26–16:15	sa 14[L]
15:26–16:2, 4–9, 13–15, 19	sa 297[L]
16:20–23[lac]	sa 59[L]
17:1–11	sa 15[L]
17:4–10[lac]	sa 302[L]
17:4–17	sa 14[L]
17:4–5, 8–9, 11–12	sa 294[L]
[lac]17:6–26	sa 292[L]
[lac]17:8–9[lac]	sa 297[L]
17:17–26	sa 349[L]
18:1–2	sa 292[L]
18:3–9	sa 16[L]
[lac]18:6–9	sa 292[L]

18,10[lac]	sa 292[L]
18:10–14	sa 16[L]
18:15–27	sa 16[L] | sa 292[L]
18:28–40	sa 16[L] | sa 292[L]
[lac]18:37[lac]	sa 330[L]
19:1–12	sa 16[L] | sa 292[L]
19:1–16[lac]	sa 298[L]
19:1, 16	sa 663[L] (initium and desinit)
[lac]19:7–17[lac]	sa 58[L]
19:13–27	sa 16[L]
19:16–17, 20–21[lac]	sa 352
19:16–24[lac]	sa 337[L]
[lac]19:19–20, 22–23, *25, 27	sa 14[L]
[lac]19:20–21, 23–24[lac]	sa 335[L]
19:25–37	sa 15[L]
[lac]19:25–27[lac]	sa 408[L]
19:28–30	sa 16[L]
[lac]19:30–31[lac]	sa 294[L]
19:31–37	sa 16[L]
19:38–42	sa 16[L]
20:1–2[lac]	sa 313[L]
20:1–18	sa 14[L] | sa 15[L]
20:1, 3–5, 7–9, 12–13, 15–18	sa 335[L]
[lac]20:1[lac]	sa 340[L]
[lac]20:2–3, 15–16[lac]	sa 308[L]
20:8–18[lac]	sa 339[L]
20:19	sa 663[L] (initium only)
20:19–31	sa 15[L]
[lac]20:22–23	sa 302[L]
20:24–31	sa14[L] | sa 335[L] | sa 342[L]
[lac]20:25–26, 29–30[lac]	sa 340[L]
[lac]20:28–31	sa 336[L]
21:1–11[lac]	sa 293[L]
[lac]21:7–12[lac]	sa 317[Lr]
21:12	sa 663[L] (initium only)
21:15–20	sa 293[L]

Acts

1:1–8	sa 15[L]

1:1–11 sa 15[L] | sa 293[L]
[lac]1:8–9[lac] sa 296[L]
[lac]1:12–14[lac] sa 308[L]
1:12–14 sa 15[L]
2:1–19[lac] sa 302[L]
2:1–21 sa 15[L]
[lac]2:7–13 sa 293[L]
2:22–28 sa 15[L]
[lac]2:25–26[lac] sa 330[Lr]
2:29–35 sa 15[L]
2:46–3:10 sa 291[L]
3:1–8 sa 636[L]
[lac]3:13–14[lac] sa 302[L]
3:13–20 sa 15[L]
3:19–23 sa 291[L]
3:19–26 sa 291[L]
3:22 sa 663[L] (initium only)
3:22–26 sa 15[L] (twice)
4:5–12 sa 291[L]
4:32[lac] sa 308[L]
4:32 sa 663[L] (initium only)
4:32–37 sa 291[L]
5:12–16[lac] sa 358[L]
5:12–18 sa 305[L]
5:12–21 sa 15[L] | sa 310[L]
5:19–29 sa 291[L]
6:1 sa 296[L]
6:1–7 sa 15[L]
7:2–8 sa 15[L]
7:2–9 sa 291[L]
7:9–16 sa 291[L]
7:17–23[lac] sa 293[L]
7:30–34 sa 15[L]
7:30–34 sa 295[L]
7:34–43 sa 357[L]
7:44–50 sa 295[L] | sa 394[L]
7:44–53 sa 440[L]
7:54–8:2 sa 15[L]
8:5–12 sa 15[L]
8:26–40 sa 15[L] | sa 306[L]
[lac]8:26–27,29–30,*31,32–33[lac] sa 412[L]
9:32–42 sa 291[L]
9:36, 38[lac] sa 359[L]
10:1–8 sa 15[L]
10:1–13 sa 356[L]
10:25–35 sa 291[L]
10:34–43 sa 15[L]
11:2–10 sa 291[L]
11:22–30 sa 291[L]
12:1–6 sa 291[L]
12:1–11 sa 15[L]
12:7–11 sa 15[L]
[lac]12:8–9 sa 293[L]
12:12–17 sa 295[L]
13:1–7 sa 15[L] | sa 291[L]
13:17–22 sa 394[L]
13:17–25 sa 295[L] | sa 309[L]
13:25–30 sa 15[L]
13:26[lac] sa 293[L]
13:26–39 sa 15[L]
13:26, 28–29, 31–33[lac] sa 311[L]
[lac]13:32–36[lac] sa 302[L]
[lac]13:32–39 sa 305[L]
13:32–38[lac] sa 300[L]
13:32–39 sa 15[L]
[lac]13:34–38[lac] sa 420[L]
[lac]13:38–39 sa 459[L]
[lac]13:43 sa 439[L]
13:44–48 sa 295[L]
13:44–52 sa 293[L]
14:8 sa 663[L] (initium only)
14:8–18 sa 15[L]
14:19–23 sa 291[L]
15:4[lac] sa 295[L]
15:13–16, 19–20, 21–26 sa 302[L]
15:21–26 sa 302[L]
15:22–29 sa 15[L]
15:23–29 sa 291[L]
15:35–40 sa 15[L]
15:36–16:5 sa 15[L]

16:11–18	sa 293[L]
16:25	sa 396[L] (initium only)
16:25–33	sa 291[L]
16:25–34	sa 291[L]
17:15–21	sa 360[L]
17:22–26	sa 291[L]
17:22–31	sa 15[L]
18:12–16	sa 15[L]
18:24–28	sa 15[L] | sa 291[L]
20:7	sa 396[L] (initium only)
20:7–9[lac]	sa 302[L]
20:22–35	sa 15[L]
[lac]20:30–38	sa 302[L]
21:5–10[lac]	sa 295[L]
22:6–16	sa 15[L]
22:17–24	sa 15[L]
23:2–8	sa 15[L]
23:6–9	sa 291[L]
[lac]23:10	sa 293[L]
23:12–15	sa 15[L]
24:1–5	sa 15[L]
24:17–27	sa 15[L]
[lac]25:20	sa 293[L]
[lac]26:8–11[lac]	sa 382[L]
26:12–16[lac]	sa 293[L]
[lac]26:16–19	sa 332[L]
27:1–4[lac]	sa 293[L]
27:27–37	sa 293[L]
27:27–38	sa 291[L]
27:27–40	sa 296[L]
[lac]27:32–33[lac]	sa 328[L]
27:39–41	sa 440[L]
28:17	sa 296[L]

1 Peter

1:1–4[lac]	sa 296[L]
1:1–4	sa 15[L] | sa 358[L]
1:1–9	sa 15[L]
1:1–12	sa 356[L]
1:3, 4–9	sa 295[L]
[lac]1:10–12[lac]	sa 295[L]
1:10[lac]	sa 406[L]
1:10–12[lac]	sa 309[L]
1:10–12	sa 15[L] (twice)
1:13–21	sa 15[L] | sa 291[L]
1:17–21[lac]	sa 293[L]
1:*17, 18–20, 22–23[lac]	sa 295[L]
[lac]1:21–22	sa 302[L]
1:25–2:7	sa 293[L]
2:3–8	sa 15[L]
2:3–9	sa 295[L]
2:9–12	sa 15[L] (twice)
2:18–25	sa 15[L]
2:19–25	sa 291[L]
3:1–6	sa 295[L]
3:17–22	sa 15[L]
3:17–4:2	sa 293[L]
4:1	sa 663[L] (initium only)
4:1–6	sa 15[L] | sa 295[L]
4:6–14	sa 302[L]
4:7–11	sa 15[L]
4:7–13, 14	sa 291[L]
4:12	sa 414[L]
4:12–14[lac]	sa 313[L]
4:12–15[lac]	sa 408[L]
4:12–18[lac]	sa 293[L]
5:1–7	sa 15[L]
5:8–14	sa 15[L]
[lac]5:12–14	sa 636[L]

2 Peter

1:1–9	sa 15[L]
1:1, 3–8	sa 291[L]
1:2, 4–5, 7–9[lac]	sa 635[L]
1:8–12	sa 291[L]
1:13–19	sa 291[L] | sa 440[L]
1:13–21	sa 15[L]
1:16–19[lac]	sa 295[L]
1:18–2:3	sa 291[L]
[lac]1:18	sa 302[L]

3:1–7	sa 15^{L} | sa 291^{L}
3:1–9	sa 296^{L}
3:10–13	sa 15^{L}

James

1:1–11	sa 293^{L}
1:2–12	sa 15^{L}
1:13–20	sa 15^{L}
1:16–25	sa 15^{L}
1:26–2:4	sa 291^{L}
2:5–13	sa 15^{L}
^{lac}2:8–13	sa 310^{L}
2:8–17	sa 291^{L}
2:14–18	sa 15^{L}
2:14–23	sa 291^{L}
3:3–6	sa 291^{L} (twice)
3:3–12	sa 15^{L}
3:4–10	sa 293^{L}
3:5	sa 396^{L} (initium only, starting at ⲉⲓⲥ ϩⲏⲏⲧⲉ)
4:8–17	sa 15^{L}
4:11–17	sa 291^{L} (twice)
^{lac}4:12	sa 308^{L}
5:7	sa 663^{L} (initium only)
5:7–15, 16	sa 291^{L}
^{lac}5:9–12	sa 293^{L}
5:10	sa 663^{L} (initium only)
5:10–16	sa 357^{L}
5:11–14^{lac}	sa 638^{L}
5:11–16	sa 291^{L}
5:11–20	sa 15^{L} | sa 305^{L}
5:13–20	sa 291^{L} | sa 293^{L}

Revelation

1:12	sa 396^{L} (initium only)
3:7–13	sa 394^{L}
3:19–4:1	sa 394^{L}
3:19–4:6	sa 294^{L}
3:20, 22–4:1^{lac}	sa 667^{L}
^{lac}4:2–3^{lac}	sa 667^{L}
4:2–6	sa 394^{L}
5:6–10	sa 394^{L}
7:13	sa 663^{L} (initium only)
7:13–17^{lac}	sa 294^{L}
7:13–8:3	sa 294^{L}
7:13–8:4	sa 294^{L}
10:1	sa 396^{L} (initium only)
10:7	sa 663^{L} (initium only)
11:1–4	sa 394^{L}
^{lac}11:2–3^{lac}	sa 294^{L}
^{lac}12:12	sa 394^{L}
14:6–12	sa 294^{L}
14:14	sa 663^{L} (initium only)
14:17	sa 396^{L} (initium only)
21:2–7	sa 394^{L}
^{lac}21:8–10,12–14^{lac}; ^{lac}22:15–21	sa 299^{L}
21:10	sa 663^{L} (initium only)

9. The Influence of the Catenae on the Most Recent Modern Greek New Testament Translation of the Hellenic Bible Society.

THEODORA PANELLA

Introduction

In this paper I will discuss the correlation between the phrases 'living text' and 'living language', with reference to the Greek New Testament and its Modern Greek translations. The translation of the Bible in Greece, from Greek Koine to Modern Greek, has always been considered in certain, mainly ecclesiastical, circles to be a sensitive issue. This is not only connected with the Church or the Bible, but with the long-disputed question of the Greek language and Greek diglossia since the Hellenistic period.

Charles Ferguson defines diglossia as follows:

> Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation.[1]

Greek diglossia belongs to the category according to which, while the living language evolves and changes as time passes, there is an artificial, more an-

[1] C. Ferguson, 'Diglossia', *Word* 15 (1959) 325–340; quotation from p. 336.

cient, linguistic form preserved in writing and considered to be scholarly and of classic status.[2] We can trace this situation in Greek as far back as the first century CE, when Hellenistic Alexandrian scholars decided that, in order to strengthen the link between their own time and the glorious culture of the Greek 'Golden Age' of the fifth century BCE, people should adopt the language of that era. This phenomenon, called 'Atticism', dominated writings in part of the Hellenistic period and the Byzantine period, continuing until the last quarter of the twentieth century in the type of Greek known as *Katharevousa*, a linguistic form used for literary purposes. In the latter part of the twentieth century, *Katharevousa* was used only for official and formal purposes (such as politics, education, letters, official documents and broadcasting) while *Demotike*, 'demotic' or popular Greek, was the daily language. This created a diglossic situation in which the Greek people had to adjust according to circumstances, until in 1976 *Demotike* was made the official language.

INTRALINGUAL TRANSLATIONS IN GREEK

But from the other side, what happens when there is a general difficulty in understanding a text in your language because it is written in an older form of the language, or with dialectal characteristics, or even in a literary language such as Homeric Greek? In this case, the text needs to be translated or paraphrased using a later form of the language in order to become more comprehensible and accessible. Although we are talking about one language, the evolution of Greek during the centuries gave the language different characteristics that are missing from the Homeric form. This means that while certain aspects of translation may be simple, others are more complicated.

In the classical period, Greeks already understood that there was a need to deal with problems in understanding archaic terms: not only did this form part of the school curriculum, but it was even represented on the dramatic stage. For example, Aristophanes' fragmentary drama Δαιταλεῖς (*Banqueters*) features a teacher or father asking his son or pupil to explain

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[2] Μ. Τριανταφυλλίδης, *Άπαντα*, Vol. 5. Γλωσσικό ζήτημα και γλωσσοεκπαιδευτικά Β΄. Αγώνες για την επιβολή της δημοτικής (συνέχεια), (Θεσσαλονίκη: Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών, 1963), p. 491.

certain Homeric *glossae*, referring to some difficult passages from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[3] Boys at school were expected to understand Homer word for word, meaning that they should 'translate' Homer into a form of the Greek language more widely spoken and immediately understandable.[4] The pre-Socratic writer Democritus wrote a treatise on idiomatic or obsolescent words in the Homeric poems.[5] A paraphrase of the following verses from Homer's Iliad (A 12–42) is found—as shown below—in Plato's *Republic* (Πολιτεία, 393d):

> When he came beside the fast ships of the Achaians to ransom
> back his daughter, carrying gifts beyond count and holding
> in his hands wound on a staff of gold the ribbons of Apollo
> who strikes from afar, and supplicated all the Achaians,
> but above all Atreus' two sons, the marshals of the people:
> 'Sons of Atreus and you other strong-greaved Achaians,
> to you may the gods grant who have their homes on Olympos
> Priam's city to be plundered and a fair homecoming thereafter,
> but may you give me back my own daughter and take the ransom,
> giving honour to Zeus' son who strikes from afar, Apollo.'
> Then all the rest of the Achaians cried out in favour
> that the priest be respected and the shining ransom be taken;
> yet this pleased not the heart of Atreus' son Agamemnon,
> but harshly he drove him away with a strong order upon him:
> 'Never let me find you again, old sir, near our hollow
> ships, neither lingering now nor coming again hereafter,
> for fear your staff and the god's ribbons help you no longer.

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[3] ΓΕΡΩΝ: πρὸς ταῦτα σὺ λέξον Ὁμήρου <ἐμοὶ> γλώττας· τί καλοῦσι κόρυμβα; ... τί καλοῦσ' ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα; The passage is printed in the editions of A. Meineke, *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*, Vol. 2.2, (Berlin: Reimer, 1840; repr. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1970); T. Kock. *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1880); J.M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1957), *Fr.* 220.

[4] F. Montanari, 'Tradurre dal Greco in Greco', in *La traduzione dei testi classici. Teoria prassi storia*, ed. S. Nicosia (Naples: D'Auria, 1991), p. 223.

[5] Περὶ Ὁμήρου ἢ Ὀρθοεπείης καὶ γλωσσέων: see Fragm. 20a–26 in H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (2 vols, 6th edn; Berlin: Weidmann, 1952), vol. 2, pp. 130–224. The use of these words was denounced by Aristotle in his *Ars Poetica*, 1457b 2–4, 1458a 1–2: see R. Kassel *Aristotelis de arte poetica liber* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), pp. 3–49 (1447a8–1462b19).

> The girl I will not give back; sooner will old age come upon her
> in my own house, in Argos, far from her own land, going up and down
> by the loom and being in my bed as my companion.
> So go now, do not make me angry; so you will be safer.'
> So he spoke, and the old man in terror obeyed him
> and went silently away beside the murmuring sea beach.
> Over and over the old man prayed as he walked in solitude
> to King Apollo, whom Leto of the lovely hair bore: 'Hear me,
> lord of the silver bow who set your power about Chryse
> and Killa the sacrosanct, who are lord in strength over Tenedos,
> Smintheus, if ever it pleased your heart that I built your temple,
> if ever it pleased you that I burned all the rich thigh pieces
> of bulls, of goats, then bring to pass this wish I pray for:
> let your arrows make the Danaans pay for my tears shed.[6]

> The priest came and prayed the gods on behalf of the Greeks that they might capture Troy and return safely home, but begged that they would give him back his daughter, and take the ransom which he brought, and respect the God. Thus he spoke, and the other Greeks revered the priest and assented. But Agamemnon was wroth, and bade him depart and not come again, lest the staff and chaplets of the God should be of no avail to him—the daughter of Chryses should not be released, he said—she should grow old with him in Argos. And then he told him to go away and not to provoke him, if he intended to get home unscathed. And the old man went away in fear and silence, and, when he had left the camp, he called upon Apollo by his many names, reminding him of everything which he had done pleasing to him, whether in building his temples, or in offering sacrifice, and praying that his good deeds might be returned to him, and that the Achaeans might expiate his tears by the arrows of the god …[7]

Although Plato's aim was totally different, this paraphrase was considered by Ludwich as one of the first examples of intralingual translation, a practice which peaked with the Alexandrian philologists.[8]

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[6] *The Iliad of Homer*, translated with an introduction by Richmond Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

[7] *The Republic of Plato*, translated into English by Benjamin Jowett (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908).

[8] A. Ludwich, *Aristarchs Homerische Textkritik*, (Leipzig, 1884–1885), vol. 2, pp.

In the early Christian centuries, simple language was also required by congregations for understanding the sometimes obscure text of the Greek Bible. To meet this need for biblical interpretation, ecclesiastical figures wrote commentaries, homilies and treatises on biblical books. Often voluminous and extensive, these commentaries were sometimes written in a high style influenced by Atticism and were not at all easily accessible; on occasion, they even contradicted each other. The development of catenae offered a solution. The compilers chose extracts from the Church Fathers, modifying the original texts for their requirements: usually they shortened them and tried to simplify them. The activity of the compilers of catenae is covered in the definition of intralingual translation provided by Jeremy Munday: 'intralingual translation would occur when we produce a summary or otherwise rewrite a text in the same language, say a childrens' version of an encyclopedia. It also occurs when we rephrase an expression in the same language'.[9]

In his famous article 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation', the structuralist Roman Jakobson gives intralingual translation a place in his tripartite scheme with the following definition: 'Intralingual translation or rewording is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language.' A couple of millennia before this, Quintilian, in the first century CE, recommended paraphrasing as an exercise for students to improve their rhetorical style. Beginners would make a straightforward close paraphrase, while more advanced students could introduce more of their own style. Although the aim was to improve oratorical skills, inevitably and subconsciously this practice also developed the science of translation. It is significant that, at this early stage, the praxis precedes the theory. Paraphrase is also the keyword for the compilation of catenae and, although it may sound anachronistic, modern theories can explain ancient practices. As Munday says, 'the message has to be tailored to the receptors' linguistic needs and cultural expectation and aims at complete naturalness of expression'.[10] Similarly, naturalness is one of the basic requirements for Nida: his idea of *dynamic equivalence*, which he describes as the 'quality of a translation in which the message of the original text has been so transported into the receptor

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486ff. See further Montanari, 'Tradurre dal Greco in Greco', p. 223.

[9] J. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications* (Oxford & New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 9.

[10] Munday, *Introducing Translation* Studies, p. 67.

language that the *response* of the *receptor* is essentially like that of the original receptors', may be seen in Greek catena witnesses, even though we are talking about an intralingual translation from Greek into Greek, a paraphrase.[11]

The Most Recent New Testament Translation from the Hellenic Bible Society

To the uneducated, the idea that there is a need for a translation of the New Testament into Modern Greek is a cause of great surprise. Nevertheless, such translations exist, reflecting the evolution of the Greek language across the centuries. In the age of printing, for example, biblical translations were produced by Ioannikios Kartanos (1536), Maximos Kallioupolitis (1638) and Vamvas (1838, 1844).[12] Translations of the Bible into Greek not only fall into the category of intralingual translations, but are also laden with the historical attitudes towards the Greek language itself, the question of diglossia.

Perhaps the most important feature of most of the twentieth-century Greek translations is that they translate from the Patriarchal Edition of the New Testament by Antoniades published in 1904, rather than from a critical text.[13] In order to be official, the translation must have the approval of the Greek Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Three major translations from the mid-twentieth century fulfil all these criteria. The first was made by Trembelas in 1952 with the title *The New Testament with a Short Interpretation*: now in its fifty-fourth edition, this is published by the para-ecclesiastical organisation *Soter* and has found the broadest diffusion of all. Although laypeople consider this to be a translation, scholars identify it as a paraphrase or *hermeneia*. The second was produced by Vellas with the help of three other professors from the Theological School in Athens (E. Antoniades, A. Alivizatos, G. Konidares) and published by the Hellenic

[11] See Eugene A. Nida and Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation with Special Reference to Bible Translating* (Leiden: Brill, 1969), p. 200. The dynamic, which is also known as functional equivalence, attempts to convey the thought expressed in a source text, if necessary at the expense of literalism, original word order, the grammar of the source text, etc..

[12] D. Maronitis, 'Intralingual Translation: Genuine and False Dilemmas', in *Translation and the Classic. Identity as Change in the History of Culture*, ed. A. Lianeri and V. Zajko (Oxford: OUP, 2009), pp. 367–386.

[13] On this edition, see the chapter by Paulson in the present volume.

Bible Society in 1967.[14] The third, also published by the Hellenic Bible Society, appeared almost two decades later, in 1985. This, the so-called 'Translation of the Six Professors', was made by a group of members of the Universities of Athens and Thessaloniki: S. Agouridis, P. Vasiliadis, I. Galanis, G. Galitis, I. Karavidopoulos and V. Stogiannos.[15] Although this was alleged to be based on the Patriarchal Text, this criterion was only fully met in the second edition of 1989.

All three translations met with opposition in some ecclesiastical circles and at the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, but the last one encountered the most negative reaction of all. In an encyclical letter of May 1985, the Synod described the translation of the six professors 'not only as unofficial but also as both typically and essentially unacceptable', stating further that:

> The aforementioned translation deviates by far not only from traditional and spiritual Orthodox Hermeneutics, but also from liturgical tradition, and contains a free, arbitrary and—from the perspective of the Orthodox Church—an unacceptable translation of the meaning of many hagiographical pericopes.[16]

In the same month, a committee of four conservative members was appointed by the Holy Synod to review this translation and consider the possibility and planning of a new authoritative edition of the New Testament accompanied by a Modern Greek translation.[17] The committee decided that the translation of the six professors was improper and inadequate in multiple ways for the dissemination of the Holy Gospel. The key to its shortcomings, making it misconceived from the start, was the adoption of the method of dynamic equivalence. While the committee acknowledged that this might be appropriate for other languages, their opinion was that this

[14] *Η Καινή Διαθήκη. Το πρωτότυπον κείμενον μὲ νεοελληνικὴν μετάφρασιν* (Αθήνα: Ελληνική Βιβλική Εταιρεία, 1967).

[15] *Η Καινή Διαθήκη. Το πρωτότυπο κείμενο με μετάφραση στη δημοτική* (Αθήνα: Ελληνική Βιβλική Εταιρεία, 1985).

[16] Νικόδημος Πατρών, 'Η Νέα Μετάφραση της Καινής Διαθήκης στη Νεοελληνική Γλώσσα', Ἐκκλησία 64.4 (15 February 1986), 116–118.

[17] The members of the committee were Nikodemos, Metropolitan of Patras (president), Anthimos, Metropolitan of Alexandroupolis, Prof. Markos Siotis and Prof. Ioannis Panagopoulos. See Πατρών, 'Η Νέα Μετάφραση'.

was impermissible for Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians because: 1) the *Target Text* (product) was no longer a translation, but a *hermeneia*; 2) the translators had distanced themselves from the *Source Text* giving the *Target Text* a personal style; 3) in this way they had been encouraged to replace special words and terms still widely used even by the most illiterate Greeks. The committee considered that the elevated, and often compressed, register of the Greek New Testament could hardly be translated in literary Modern Greek, let alone be rendered through dynamic equivalence. They concluded with the following statement: 'No translation can ever be the message of God, but only a rendition of the meaning of the Message of God.'[18]

The large number of shortcomings in this translation were set out in a very inflexible article written by Panagopoulos who, as part of the aforementioned committee, was appointed to do 'special' research on this subject. This was published in two parts in the official journal of the Church of Greece.[19] Panagopoulos went through translations from the seventeenth century until this edition's immediate precursor, that of Vellas in 1967, mentioning their drawbacks, the problems that they caused and their political results. The most serious one, the 'Gospel Riots' (*Evangeliká*) of 1901 in the streets of Athens, was combined with the long disputed question of diglossia.[20] This turned from a theological into a political issue, resulting in the addition of a phrase in the Greek Constitution in 1911: following minor alterations in 1927 and 1975, this currently reads as follows:[21]

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[18] See Πατρών, 'Η Νέα Μετάφραση', pp. 117–118.

[19] Ι. Παναγόπουλος, 'Μελέτη-Απάντηση του Καθηγ. Ιω. Παναγόπουλου', *Ἐκκλησία* 64.4 (15 February 1986), 118–126 and 64.5 (1 March 1986), 181–191.

[20] For more on the 'Gospel Riots' in response to the translation of the Bible from Codex Vaticanus into a high register of modern Greek at the request of the Russian Queen Olga (A. Pallis, *Ἡ Νέα Διαθήκη κατά το Βατικανό χερόγραφο μεταφρασμένη*. Μέρος πρώτο. [Liverpool: Liverpool Booksellers, 1902]), see P. Mackridge, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766–1976* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), pp. 247–252, especially Figure 8.1; P. Carabott, 'Politics, Orthodoxy and the Language Question in Greece. The Gospel Riots of November 1901' *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 3.1 (1993) 117–138. I would like to thank Teunis van Lopik for helpful and insightful remarks during our discussions of Pallis' translation.

[21] The result of the 'Gospel Riots' was the addition in 1911 of the following phrase to the Greek Constitution (Article 2, §2):

Τὸ κείμενον τῶν Ἁγίων Γραφῶν τηρεῖται ἀναλλοίωτον· ἡ εἰς ἄλλον γλωσσικὸν

> Τὸ κείμενον τῶν Ἁγίων Γραφῶν τηρεῖται ἀναλλοίωτον· ἡ εἰς ἄλλον γλωσσικὸν τύπον ἐπίσημος μετάφρασις τούτου ἄνευ τῆς προηγούμενης ἐγκρίσεως τῆς αὐτοκεφάλου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας ἀπαγορεύεται ἀπολύτως.
>
> The text of the Holy Scriptures remains unchanged; official translation/rendering of the text in another form of the language without the previous approval by the Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Greece and the Great Church of Christ in Constantinople is totally prohibited.

Panagopoulos repeatedly stated his opposition to the adoption of dynamic equivalence, which he considered 'of low value and with many limitations'.[22] Using forty-two examples, he identified in the translation discrepancies concerning dogmatic principles and ecclesiastical tradition, complications for the religious devotion of the Church, limitations in the meaning of crucial words and the incorrect rendering of certain concepts.[23] He also

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τύπον ἀπόδοσις τούτου ἄνευ τῆς προηγούμενης ἐγκρίσεως καὶ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας ἀπαγορεύεται ἀπολύτως.

With the amendment of the Constitution of 1927 the phase was altered to:

> Τὸ κείμενον τῶν Ἁγίων Γραφῶν τηρεῖται ἀναλλοίωτον· ἡ εἰς ἄλλον γλωσσικὸν τύπον ἀπόδοσις τούτου ἄνευ τῆς προηγούμενης ἐγκρίσεως τῆς αὐτοκεφάλου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας ἀπαγορεύεται ἀπολύτως.

This phrase remained unaltered for almost fifty years, until the addition of the word ἐπίσημος ('official') in the Constitution of 1975 (Article 3, §3). Following this, there was a long discussion in the Greek Parliament on the clarification of the meaning of the phrase ἐπίσημος μετάφραση ('official translation').

[22] He repeats the same accusations in another work, where he adds that this translation confuses the meaning of many biblical terms and depends on other Bible Society translations of the New Testament into modern European languages: Ι. Παναγόπουλος, *Εισαγωγή στην Καινή Διαθήκη* (Αθήνα: Ακρίτας, 1985), pp. 46–53.

[23] The forty-two examples concern the following verses: Matthew 1:25, 2:26, 4:23, 5:4, 5:5, 5:17, 10:34, 23:10, 24:34; Mark 2:27; Luke 4:18, 6:24, 17:5; John 3:16, 3:19, 3:36, 4, 6:63, 14:26, 15:26, 16:7, 17:19; Acts 13:1; Romans 8:10, 10:9; 1 Cor 14:17, 15:2; 2 Cor 9:12; Galatians 4:24; 1 Thess 4:12; 2 Thess 2:3; Philippians 2:6–7; Hebrews 6:2, 12:15, 13:7, 13.17; 1 John 4:7; Revelation 1:3.

accused the professors of translating the 'critical text' rather than the Patriarchal Edition, in which he was correct.

Two months later, in May 1986, after the death of Stogiannos, the remaining five professors sent a letter to the editor of the journal for publication with their response to Panagopoulos' article. In early September the editor replied, informing them that the Holy Synod had decided not to publish this response. Before the end of the year, the professors published it as a booklet, in which they added the aforementioned correspondence.[24] In this response, the authors not only refuted each of the forty-two accusations in turn, but also defended themselves against allegations that they had not taken the tradition of the Church Fathers into consideration for their translation. The first of the two parts of their response is entitled Πατερική θεμελίωση της νέας μεταφράσεως ('Patristic foundation of the new translation'), where they clearly state their intention to demonstrate that their translation was based on the commentaries of the Church Fathers. This is also mentioned in the second part, Γλωσσολογικές, ιστορικές και μεθοδολογικές προϋποθέσεις της νέας μεταφράσεως ('Linguistic, historical and methodological presuppositions of the new translation').[25]

One of the answers given by the translators to the criticisms of Panagopoulos was that the pluralism that can be found in the history of Eastern Orthodox exegetical tradition gives solutions to ambiguous passages of the New Testament: the text itself allows more than one interpretation, as can be seen from the commentaries of the Church Fathers.[26] In the first part of their response, the translators use not only commentaries by the Church Fathers, but also catenae. In the analysis of the New Testament passages, two of the most famous catenists (Zigabenus and Theophylact) are repeatedly mentioned by name, while another, Oecumenius, is cited in a more general comment.[27] The translators demonstrate that they use the

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[24] Σ. Αγουρίδης, Γ. Γαλίτης, Ι. Καραβιδόπουλος, Ι. Γαλάνης, Π. Βασιλειάδης, *Ἡ Νέα Μετάφραση τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης: Ἀνασκευὴ τῆς «Μελέτης-Ἀπαντήσεως» τοῦ ἀν. Καθ. Ἰ. Παναγόπουλου* (Θεσσαλονίκη, 1986). From now onwards I will refer to this work as *Ἀνασκευή*.

[25] For the two parts, see *Ἀνασκευή*, pp. 13–38 and pp. 39–51.

[26] *Ἀνασκευή*, p. 9.

[27] For example, Zigabenus (Matthew 1:25), Chrysostom and Zigabenus (Matthew 5:17), Chrysostom, Theophylact and Zigabenus (Matthew 24:34), Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nyssa, Ammonius and

same wording for their translation as the commentaries and catenae. Sometimes all Church Fathers agree, as in the translation of παράκλητος in John 14:26, 15:26 and 16:7.[28] On occasions when they do not agree (e.g. Matthew 5:17, John 17:19), the translators paid particular attention to catenists who endeavoured to bring together two or more different interpretations in their compilations.[29]

In fact, the professors prove that in certain places their work was based on the catenae by Theophylact and Zigabenus. This is shown by significant differences between their translation and all others, including details not mentioned elsewhere. Continuity is thus demonstrated in ecclesiastical tradition, proving that the biblical text is indeed a living text, not just in quotations but in the entire commentary tradition. This embodies David Parker's observation in *The Living Text of the Gospels* that:

> In no sense may the Gospels be regarded as independent of the traditions. They convey part of the early tradition, and are transmitted to us only by and as tradition. In fact, Scripture is tradition.[30]

While Parker only refers to the biblical text, the wider picture of textual and ecclesiastical tradition includes all the manuscripts of the commentaries of the Church Fathers and catenae. It therefore encompasses not only the biblical text but also the ancient commentaries and catenae which were transmitted in handwritten copies right up to the eighteenth century through a desire to keep alive an old text without losing the memory of what it was. In what follows, I will show how the translation of the six professors is not at all alien to this aspect of ecclesiastical tradition.

The Relationship of Catenae to the Translation of the Six Professors

In their response, the professors frequently made reference to patristic exegesis and their citations of the biblical text. After considering three of the verses which formed part of the controversy with Panagopoulos (John 3:16, 3:19; Galatians 4:24), I shall investigate three others which also provide evi-

Zigabenus (John 14:26, 15:26, 16:7).

[28] Compare also John 3:16, 3:19 and 3:36 (Ἀνασκευή, pp. 16–17, 23, 30).

[29] Ἀνασκευή, pp. 15, 35.

[30] Parker, *Living Text*, p. 207

dence of the close relationship of their translation to catenae (Mark 9:43, 9:50 and 10:38). In addition, I will compare their rendering with other modern language translations.

John 3:16

> οὕτω γὰρ ἠγάπησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν, ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπόληται, ἀλλ' ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

The New Living Translation (NLT) of 2004 translates this verse as:

> For God loved the world so much that he gave his one and only Son, so that everyone who believes in him will not perish but have eternal life.

This English version is close to that of the six professors, since it also includes the pronoun αὐτοῦ that is absent from the critical text.[31] The only difference is that the Greek translation adds the word θάνατος ('death'):

> Τόσο πολύ αγάπησε ο Θεός τον κόσμο, ώστε παρέδωσε στο **θάνατο** το μονογενή του Υιό, για να μη χαθεί όποιος πιστεύει σ' αυτόν αλλά να έχει ζωή αιώνια.

Orthodox Exegetical tradition understands this verse to relate to Jesus' sacrifice on the cross and thus his death. For example, Chrysostom says:

> Τὸ μὲν οὖν πάθος οὐ σφόδρα γυμνῶς τίθησιν, ἀλλὰ συνεσκιασμένως ... τὸν γὰρ σταυρὸν πηγὴν εἶναι ζωῆς φησίν.

> He (Paul) does not present the passion very clearly, but in a shadowy fashion ... because, he says, the cross is the source of life.

In fact the two catenists make this even clearer. Theophylact's comment on this verse is that Ἔδωκεν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς **θάνατον** ('For God gave his Son to death'), while Zigabenus writes: Ἐξέδωκεν εἰς **θάνατον** ('He gave [him] up to death'). The rationale behind the translators' choice to add the word θάνατος may thus clearly be explained with reference to patristic authority.

[31] *Ἀνασκευή*, p. 30.

John 3:19

The key term in this verse is κρίσις. English translations tend to render this as 'judgment', but the Greek translation by the six professors has the word καταδίκη ('conviction', 'sentence', 'condemnation').[32] Only the King James Version resembles this Greek interpretation, using the word 'condemnation'.

> NTPT:[33] αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ **κρίσις**, ὅτι τὸ φῶς ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἠγάπησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον τὸ σκότος ἢ τὸ φῶς· ἦν γὰρ πονηρὰ αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα.
>
> PROFESSORS:[34] Και να ποια είναι η **καταδίκη**: Το φως ήρθε στον κόσμο, οι άνθρωποι όμως αγάπησαν περισσότερο το σκοτάδι παρά το φως, γιατί οι πράξεις τους ήταν πονηρές.
>
> KJV: And this is the **condemnation**, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.

The translators also referred to an ecclesiastical tradition that uses the verb καταδικάζω instead of the noun καταδίκη. Thus, for example, Chrysostom uses the phrase τῶν γὰρ ἤδη καταδικασθέντων ('those who have already been condemned') and Zigabenus writes: Ἡ ἀπιστία κατέκρινε πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως ... πᾶς πλημμελήσας ... αὐτίκα καταδεδίκασται ('Unbelief condemned before judgment ... everybody at once has been condemned'). Thus the translational choice of the six professors is clearly in accordance with the terminology used by the Church Fathers.

Galatians 4:24

While all English translations made before the translation of the six professors preserve the terms 'allegory' and 'allegorical' for ἀλληγορούμενα, the six professors use the term εἰκών, 'picture'. Once again, the New Living Translation gives the rendering closest to the Greek translation.

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[32] *Ἀνασκευή*, p. 31.

[33] New Testament Patriarchal Text (Antoniades 1904).

[34] *Η Καινή Διαθήκη. Το πρωτότυπο κείμενο με μετάφραση στη δημοτική* (Αθήνα: Ελληνική Βιβλική Εταιρεία, 1985; 1989).

NTPT: ἅτινά ἐστιν **ἀλληγορούμενα**. αὗται γάρ εἰσι δύο διαθῆκαι, μία μὲν ἀπὸ ὄρους Σινᾶ, εἰς δουλείαν γεννῶσα, ἥτις ἐστὶν Ἄγαρ·

PROFESSORS: Αυτά **πρέπει να τα καταλάβουμε σαν μια εικόνα**. Οι γυναίκες δηλαδή είναι οι δύο διαθήκες: η μία στο όρος Σινά, που γεννάει δούλους, κι αυτή είναι η Άγαρ.

NLT: These two women serve **as an illustration of God's two covenants**. The first woman, Hagar, represents Mount Sinai where people received the law that enslaved them.

Investigation of this verse in commentaries and catenae provides the following parallels:

THEODORET: Ἀλληγορούμενα εἶπεν ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος, ἀντὶ τοῦ, Καὶ ἑτέρως νοούμενα. Οὐ γὰρ τὴν ἱστορίᾳ ἀνεῖλεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ **προτυπωθέντα** διδάσκει.

OECUMENIUS: Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ἀλληγορία· τὸ ἑτέρως νοούμενον· οὐ γὰρ τὴν ἰστορίαν ἀνεῖλεν· ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ προτυπωθέντα διδάσκει· ἡ μὲν γὰρ παιδίσκη Ἄγαρ· τύπος ἐστὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς· ... ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη· ἧς τύπος ἡ Ἄγαρ· τῆς δὲ Σάρρας τύπος· ... τῆς μὲν πρῶτης ἡ ἄγαρ **εἰκὼν**, ἡ δούλη· τῆς δὲ δευτέρας, Σάρρα ἡ ἐλευθέρα...

THEOPHYLACT: «Αὗται.» Ποίαι; Αἱ δύο γυναῖκες **ἀλληγοροῦνται** εἴς τε τὴν Νέαν και εἰς τὴν Παλαιὰν Διαθήκην. Πῶς; Ἡ μὲν Ἅγαρ εἰς τὴν παλαιάν. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σινᾶ ὄρους ἐδόθη. Τὸ δὲ Σινᾶ ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ μὲν ἐστιν, ἄγαρ δὲ καλεῖται τῇ Ἀραβικῇ γλώσσῃ · συστοιχεῖ δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ· τουτέστι, γειτνιάζει, ἅπτεται· ἢ ὅτι **ἀπεικάζεται** τῇ κάτω Ἰερουσαλήμ, καὶ ἀναλογεῖ αὐτῇ, καὶ εἰς ἐκείνην ἐκλαμβάνεται, ὡς ὁμοιότητος οὔσης ἀμφοῖν. Ὥσπερ οὖν ἡ Ἄγαρ δούλη ἦν, καὶ εἰς δουλείαν ἐγέννα· οὕτω καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Σινᾶ ὄρους, τοῦ καλουμένου ὡς συστοίχου ὄντος αὐτῇ καὶ ἀναλόγου, εἰς δουλείαν γεννᾷ τοὺς αὐτῷ προσέχοντας. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ πολὺ τὸ ἀναελεύθερον καὶ δουλικὸν. Ἡ τὲ γὰρ ἀρετὴ ἐπὶ μισθῷ ἐνομοθετεῖτο φθαρτῷ, τοῖς τῆς γῆς, φημὶ, ἀγαθοῖς· καὶ ἡ τῆς κακίας ἀποφυγὴ διὰ κολάσεων καὶ φόβων εἰσηγεῖτο.

CHRYSOSTOM:[35] Καταχρηστικῶς τὸν **τύπον** ἀλληγορίαν ἐκάλεσεν. Ὃ δὲ λέγει, τοῦτό ἐστιν· Ἡ μὲν ἱστορία αὕτη οὐ τοῦτο μόνον παραδηλοῖ, ὅπερ φαίνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἀναγορεύει· διὸ καὶ ἀλληγορία κέκληται. Τί δὲ ἀνηγόρευσεν; Οὐδὲν ἕτερον, ἢ τὰ παρόντα πάντα.

Each of these commentators features one or other of the word-pairs εἰκὼν—ἀπεικάζεται and τύπον—προτυπωθέντα, which all have the same meaning: 'image'. Indeed, the first verse of Chrysostom's explanation challenges Paul's terminology in the context of Greek usage:

By a misuse of language he called τύπον ('image') ἀλληγορίαν ('allegory').

This offers a clear parallel and explanation for the team's decision to translate ἀλληγορούμενα by εἰκόνα.

Mark 9:43

I have not been able to find a parallel in translations in English, German, French or Italian for the treatment of this verse by the six professors. The distinctive element of their text is the addition of the words κάτι τόσο σπουδαίο σαν ('If something so important as …'). This phrase is actually an allusion to Theophylact's catena on Mark, where he says: 'even if it is your leg or hand or eye that causes you to sin, that is your closest people in your life, your relatives, those who you need'. However, the six professors are not alone within Greek tradition because Trembelas' translation also paraphrases the same comment. It is therefore possible that they were influenced by this version as well.

NTPT: καὶ ἐὰν σκανδαλίζῃ σε ἡ χείρ σου, ἀπόκοψον αὐτήν· καλὸν σοί ἐστι κυλλὸν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν εἰσελθεῖν, ἢ τὰς δύο χεῖρας ἔχοντα ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον.

PROFESSORS: Αν σε σκανδαλίζει **κάτι τόσο σπουδαίο σαν** το χέρι σου, κόψε το· είναι προτιμότερο να μπεις στην αληθινή ζωή κουλός, παρά να έχεις δύο χέρια και να πας στη γέεννα, στη φωτιά που δε σβήνει ποτέ.

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[35] *PG* 61, col. 662.

THEOPHYLACT:[36] Ἀπειλήσας τοῖς σκανδαλίζουσιν, ὅτι συνέφερεν αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἐρρίφθησαν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, νῦν παραινεῖ τοῖς σκανδαλιζομένοις φυλάττεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἑτοίμως ἐχόντων σκανδαλίζειν καὶ ὑποσκελίζειν αὐτοὺς. Κἄν γὰρ ποῦς, κἂν χεὶρ, κἂν ὀφθαλμός ᾗ ὁ σκανδαλίζων σε, τουτέστι, **κἂν τῶν οἰκειοτάτων τις, κἂν τῶν καθ'αἷμα πλησιαζόντων καὶ χρειωδῶν,** ἔκκοψον αὐτὸν, τουτέστιν, ἀπάρνησαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ οἰκειότητα.

TREMBELAS: Καὶ ἐὰν σοῦ γίνεται ἀφορμὴ νὰ ἁμαρτάνῃς ἡ χείρ σου, **δηλαδὴ πρόσωπον ἢ πρᾶγμα πολὺ συνδεδεμένον μαζί σου καὶ πολὺ χρήσιμον εἰς σέ**, κόψε την ἀπό πάνω σου. Συμφερώτερον εἶναι εἰς σὲ νὰ ἔμβῃς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιαν ζωὴν κουλλός, παρὰ με τὰς δύο χεῖρας νὰ ἀπέλθῃς εἰς τὴν γέενναν, εἰς τὸ πῦρ ποὺ δὲν σβήνει ποτέ. **Εἶναι προτιμότερον νὰ ὑποστῇς τὴν βαρυτέραν θυσίαν εἰς τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν καὶ νὰ χωρισθῇς ἀπὸ τὰ πράγματα ἢ πρόσωπα, ποὺ σοῦ εἶναι χρήσιμα καΐ ἀγαπητά**, παρὰ ἡ προσκόλλησίς σου εἰς αὐτὰ νὰ σὲ ρίψῃ εἰς τὴν κόλασιν.

Mark 9:50

A few verses later, there is another additional phrase in the version of the six professors, το πνεύμα της θυσίας ('the spirit of sacrifice'), where other modern-language translations render ἅλας literally, as 'salt'. Once again this may be seen as an allusion to Theophylact's catena on Mark, in which the word θυσία is used repeatedly. A paraphrase of this is also found in Trembelas.

NTPT: καλὸν τὸ ἅλας· ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ἅλας ἄναλον γένηται, ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε; ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς **ἅλας** καὶ εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἀλλήλοις.

PROFESSORS: Το αλάτι είναι χρήσιμο· εάν όμως χάσει την αρμύρα του, πώς θα του την ξαναδώσετε; Να έχετε, λοιπόν, μέσα σας **το πνεύμα της θυσίας** και ειρήνη μεταξύ σας.

THEOPHYLACT: Πᾶς γὰρ, φησὶ, πυρὶ ἁλισθήσεται, τουτέστι, δοκιμασθήσεται. Ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος λέγει, ὅτι πυρὶ δοκιμασθήσεται πάντα. Καὶ <u>πᾶσα</u> δὲ, φησὶ, <u>**θυσία** ἁλὶ ἁλισθήσεται</u>. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευϊτικοῦ εἶπεν. Ἐκεῖ γὰρ φησὶν ὁ Θεὸς, <u>Πᾶν δῶρον **θυσίας** ἡμῶν ἁλὶ</u>

[36] *PG* 123, col. 593a.

> ἁλισθήσεται. Καλόν οὖν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς ἁλίζειν τὰς **θυσίας** ἡμῶν τῷ ἅλατι τοῦ Θεοῦ, τουτέστι, μὴ ἐκλελυμένας **θυσίας** καὶ ῥᾳθύμους προσφέρειν, ἀλλὰ στρυφνὰς καὶ νοστίμους. Ἅλας δὲ λέγει καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ὁ Κύριος, καὶ πάντας ἁπλῶς τοὺς δύναμιν ἔχοντας συνεκτικὴν καὶ συνδετικὴν. Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ ἅλας συνέχει τὰ κρέα, καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ αὐτὰ σκώληκας γεννᾷν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ διδασκαλικὸς λόγος, ἐὰν στρυφνὸς εἴη, τοὺς σαρκικοὺς ἀνθρώπους συσφίγγων, οὐκ ἐᾷ ἐν αὐτοῖς γεννηθῆναι τὸν ἀκοίμητον σκώληκα. Ἐὰν δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος ἄναλος εἴη, καὶ μὴ ἔχῃ τὸ στρυφνὸν καὶ συνδετικὸν, ἐν τίνι ἁλισθήσεται, τουτέστιν, ἀρτυσθήσεται; Ἔχετε οὖν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἅλας, ἤγουν τὴν νόστιμον χάριν τοῦ Πνεύματος καὶ συνεκτικὴν, ὡς ἄν εἰρηνεύητε πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Ὁ γὰρ τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς ἀγάπης συσφιγγόμενος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον, οὗτος ἅλας ἔχει, καὶ λοιπὸν εἰρηνεύει πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ.
>
> TREMBELAS: Τὸ ἅλας εἶναι καλόν, διότι προλαμβάνεται δι' αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀποσύνθεσις τῶν τροφῶν καὶ γίνονται νόστιμα τὰ φαγητά. Ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸ ἅλας χάσῃ τὴν δύναμίν του, μὲ τί θὰ τὸ ἀρτύσετε, ὥστε νὰ ἀποκτήσῃ πάλιν τὴν δύναμίν ποὺ ἔχασε; Ἔτσι καὶ αἱ ἀρεταί, ποὺ κάνουν ἅλας τὸν πιστὸν μαθητὴν μου· **ἡ ἀκλόνητος πίστις δηλαδὴ καὶ ἡ αὐταπάρνησις, ποὺ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς πᾶσαν θυσίαν διὰ τὸ καθῆκον, καὶ ἡ ἐγκαρτέρησις εἰς αὐτὸ.** Ἐὰν αὐταὶ αἱ ἀρρεταὶ μεταστραφοῦν εἰς ἀντιθέτους κακίας, ἤτοι εἰς τὴν ἀπιστίαν καὶ τὴν φιλαυτίαν καὶ τὸν ἐγωϊσμόν, ὁ μαθητής μου πλέον αὐτὸς χάνει τὸ ἁλάτι του καὶ γίνεται ἀνίκανος νὰ προφυλάξῃ καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλος ἀπὸ τῆς διαφθορᾶς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ του. Ἀπὸ ποίαν πλέον ἀνθρώπίνην πηγὴν δύναται οὗτος νὰ ἀνανεώσῃ τὰς ἐξυγιαντικὰς ἰδιότητας πού ἔχασε; **Διατηρήσατε ἀναμμένον μέσα σας τὸ ἐξαγνιστικόν πῦρ τῆς αὐταπαρνήσεως** καὶ τῆς θείας Χάριτος **καὶ ειδικῶς καύσατε δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐγωϊσμόν,** ποὺ καταστρέφει τὴν ἑνότητα, καὶ ἔχετε τὴν εἰρήνην μεταξὺ σας, μὴ φιλονεικοῦντες διὰ πρωτεῖα καὶ τιμητικὰς διακρίσεις.

Mark 10:38

Finally, there is a further expansion in this verse, where the professors translate ποτήριον ('the cup') as το ποτήρι του πάθους. An English rendering of this more descriptive phrase might be 'the bitter cup of suffering', which is, in fact, the text of the New Living Translation. The additional qualifier, featuring the word πάθος, connects with the idea of Christ's Pas-

sion, reflecting Theophylact's comment that 'by cup and baptism he means the cross': in this context, the cross denotes the suffering of the Passion.

> NTPT: ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· οὐκ οἴδατε τί αἰτεῖσθε. δύνασθε πιεῖν **τὸ ποτήριον** ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω, καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι;

> PROFESSORS: Ο Ιησούς τότε τους είπε: «Δεν ξέρετε τι ζητάτε. Μπορείτε να πιείτε **το ποτήρι του πάθους** που θα πιω εγώ ή να βαφτιστείτε με το βάπτισμα με το οποίο θα βαφτιστώ εγώ;

> NLT: But Jesus said to them, 'You don't know what you are asking! Are you able to drink from **the bitter cup of suffering** I am about to drink? Are you able to be baptised with the baptism of suffering I must be baptised with?'

> THEOPHYLACT:[37] Ποτήριον γὰρ καὶ βάπτισμα τὸν **σταυρὸν** ὀνομάζει· ποτήριον μὲν, ὡς εἰς ὕπνον εὐθὺς ἄγον καὶ ὡς ἡδέως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσδεχθὲν· βάπτισμα δὲ, ὡς καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενον· οἱ δὲ, μὴ νοήσαντες τί λέγοι, ὑπέσχοντο, νομίζοντες λέγειν περὶ ποτηρίου αἰσθητοῦ, καὶ βαπτίσματος οἵῳ ἐβαπτίζοντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, πρὸ τοῦ φαγεῖν πλυνόμενοι.

CONCLUSION

The subsequent history of the translation of the six professors is a happy one: the 1985 translation was revised by the surviving translators in 1989, including bringing it into correspondence with the Patriarchal Edition of the Greek text, whereupon it received the approval of the Greek Church and the Patriarchate and is still in use today. Although this translation might still be improved in terms of both its language and style, the key characteristic which has been isolated in this survey is the consideration given by the translators to patristic testimony in the form of the catenae, as a compilation and distillation of ecclesiastical tradition. While catenae are not in themselves translations, they nevertheless display the paraphrastic and periphrastic techniques which have evolved over the centuries, matching the constant development of the Greek language. Similarly, the text of the Gospels is no exception to this model: it has always to be fresh and con-

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[37] *PG* 123, col. 605.

stantly in step with the contemporary needs of its audience. Despite the simplicity of its original presentation, each generation attempts to express this in its own terms, as 'all translators provide fresh renderings' and accordingly fresh interpretations, ensuring that 'the text of the Gospels remains a living text'.[38]

[38] Parker, *Living Text*, p. 213.

10. From Inner-Jewish Debate to Anti-Jewish Polemic? The Transformation of the Gospel of John within its Textual Transmission.

Hans Förster[1]

Introduction

The Gospel according to John has been perceived as self-contradictory. As Wayne A. Meeks phrased it more than forty years ago: 'To put the matter sharply, with some risk of misunderstanding, the Fourth Gospel is most anti-Jewish just at the points it is most Jewish.'[2] More recently, scholars like Raymond Brown have come to the conclusion that the author of the Gospel of John was 'deliberate and hostile in his intent'.[3] Adele Reinhartz even identifies a 'grammar of hate in the Gospel of John'.[4] It appears justified to

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[1] This paper arose from the author's following research projects: Austrian Science Fund/FWF projects P28821 and 29315.

[2] Wayne A. Meeks, ''Am I a Jew?' Johannine Christianity and Judaism' in *Christianity, Judaism and other Greco Roman Cults. Festschrift for Morton Smith*, ed. Jacob Neusner (Studies in Judaisim in Late Antiquity 12; Leiden: Brill, 1975) pp. 163–186, there p. 172.

[3] Sonya Shetty Cronin, *Raymond Brown, 'The Jews', and the Gospel of John. From Apologia to Apology.* (LNTS 504; London: T&T Clark, 2016), p. 104.

[4] Adele Reinhartz, 'The Grammar of Hate in the Gospel of John: Reading John in the Twenty-First Century' in *Israel und seine Heilstraditionen im Johannesevangelium. Festgabe für Johannes Beutler SJ zum 70. Geburtstag,* ed. Michael Labahn, Klaus Scholtissek and Angelika Strotmann (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004), pp. 416–427.

state that there are passages of the Gospel of John which can, or even must, be perceived as anti-Jewish and which have been used in different contexts to promote anti-Semitism.

While these claims seem to be true there are aspects which might profit from further discussion. Such observances of an 'anti-Jewish' text are based on an implicit but important presupposition: they start from the disputable or even problematic conviction that there is only 'one' Gospel according to John, that this Gospel is uniform and that the understanding of the text did not change over the centuries. In other words, the three statements quoted above have three implicit presuppositions which should be made explicit, since there appear to be flaws in them.

First, there is no uniform text and, as the discussion of examples will show, it is the task of the reader or translator to identify which variant reading he or she wants to use to understand what is called 'the' Gospel according to John. David Parker has called such a concept of the uniformity of a single gospel (or any New Testament writing) into question:

> The Gospel texts exist only as a manuscript tradition, and … from the beginning the text grew freely. It is from these facts that all questions of interpretation and all theological formulations must start.[5]

In addition, there is not only a single Greek source text with textual variations. The Gospel according to John has been translated into more than two thousand different languages, with multiple translations in many languages resulting in far more than two thousand texts. These ancient and modern versions are texts in their own rights, even though all measures may have been taken to produce translations which conform as closely as possible to the source text. A translation is always an interpretation. There is no way to exclude the translator from the process: a translation is *not* a 'faithful' copy of a source text which just happens to be a copy in another language, but a rendering of a source text by a translator attempting to be faithful to a given source text. However, there are only limited ways to demonstrate whether the text is to be understood in a certain way or not. In consequence, different translators will come to different results which show their *own* understanding of the source text. This is not necessarily that of the author, or even the understanding of another translator who read this text. Especially in the case of texts whose meaning is not apparent—or which, as

[5] David C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), p. 203.

ambiguous texts, have more than one possible way of being perceived—the translator has to make a decision as to its meaning. It is often almost impossible to retain the ambiguity of a text in translation. It may even be the case that a translator does not even recognise that the source text is ambiguous. Disambiguation of (possibly) ambiguous texts is therefore one important source of interpretation in translation. New Testament translation technique in particular has one trait which may actually contribute to biased translations, namely the tendency to use translation as 'a commentary on the passage and its meaning'.[6] Such a technique tends to underscore the *perceived* tendencies of a text. As long as all users agree that these perceived tendencies and those of the translation coincide there is no problem. In cases of disagreement, one is tempted to see such a translational practice as problematic and, in the case of the Gospel according to John, leading to rather unsettling results.

One perceived tendency of the Gospel according to John is the 'intentionally hostile author'. This perception arose from the way in which both Jesus in the narrated world of John's Gospel and the narrator appear to 'attack' Jesus' Jewish opponents. The results of such a perception come to light in translations following the principles of dynamic equivalence:[7] a widely-used German translation (the *Gute Nachricht Übersetzung*) was made *after* the horrors of the Shoah, yet it is a fact that this translation is in some cases more anti-Jewish in its way of phrasing (one is tempted to say 'interpreting') the Gospel according to John than Martin Luther's translation of the same work.[8] Luther himself has justly been criticised for his violently anti-Jewish writings. In consequence, the intensification of anti-Judaism in such modern translations appears inappropriate in the light of Christian anti-Semitism and its reception history.[9] As Kierspiel observes, 'Nazis used

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[6] Frederick Dale Bruner, *The Gospel of John. A Commentary.* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), p. xiii.

[7] On dynamic equivalence, see further the chapter by Panella in the present volume.

[8] For a critique of the translational tendencies of the 'Gute Nachricht', see Hans Förster, 'Drei antijüdische Verzerrungen im achten Kapitel des Johannesevangeliums in der Gute Nachricht Übersetzung', *Biblische Zeitschrift* 61 (2017) 219–229.

[9] This is not a phenomenon restricted to the 'Gute Nachricht'. The 'Einheitsübersetzung' had the explicit intention of paying special attention to passages which had been understood in an anti-Jewish manner (cf. Michael Theobald,

the Fourth Gospel as "a favourite text-book of anti-Jewish propaganda".'[10] Someone reading the Gospel according to John in the version of the *Gute Nachricht* would perceive it more anti-Jewish than the same person reading Martin Luther's translation. It is still the 'same' text, the Gospel according to John—but in two versions.

The evaluation of the 'living' Greek text of the Gospel according to John and its transformation in translation is of key importance for a better understanding of how the text of John's Gospel can be perceived as both Jewish and anti-Jewish at the same time and how the perception of an 'anti-Jewish authorial intent' may have influenced translations of John's Gospel. It appears that the way the text grew and changed over the centuries—both the Greek text and also the translated text—has influenced our perception of the text and its authorial intent as anti-Jewish and even 'hostile'. The 'uncontrollable drives of the reader', as Umberto Eco calls the tendency not only to understand a text but also to make one's own understanding *the* 'correct' and 'authoritative' understanding of a given text, seem to have been at work also in the Gospel according to John.[11]

In *The Living Text of the Gospels*, David Parker comments that '[m]any of the most important variants in the Fourth Gospel are small changes of vital

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'Kirche und Israel (Röm 9–11) im Spiegel der Alten und Neuen Einheitsübersetzung', *Bibel und Kirche* 72 (2017) pp. 124–141, esp. p. 139). A test passage (Luke 20:19–26) exhibits a cluster of translational choices in three of the eight verses which introduce an anti-Jewish interpretation in the text without sufficient evidence in the semantics of the Greek source text: see Hans Förster, 'Antijüdische Polemik oder innerjüdischer Diskurs? Eine kritische Lektüre der Zinsgroschenperikope (Lukas 20,[19]20–26) in der Version der revidierten Einheitsübersetzung', *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 42 (2017) 35–54.

[10] Lars Kierspel, *The Jews and the World in the Fourth Gospel. Parallelism, Function, and Context.* (WUNT 2/220; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), p. 8.

[11] Umberto Eco, 'Overinterpreting Texts' in *Umberto Eco: Interpretation and Overinterpretation*, ed. Stefan Collini (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), pp. 45–66: 'How to prove a conjecture about the *intentio operis*? The only way is to check it upon the text as a coherent whole. This idea, too, is an old one and comes from Augustine (*De doctrina christiana*): any interpretation given of a certain portion of a text can be accepted if it is confirmed by, and must be rejected if it is challenged by, another portion of the same text. In this sense the internal textual coherence controls the otherwise uncontrollable drives of the reader.' (p. 65)

theological significance, such as the variant "only God" or "only Son" at 1.18.'[12] This provides the focus of the present study, which will consider apparently minor differences such as personal pronouns, the tense or the mood of a verb, the coordinating force of a conjunction, or the problem of sentence structures in order to understand their impact on the perception of the Gospel according to John and its interpretation. These are the rather obscure and neglected mechanics which come to the fore in the creation of 'otherness'[13] in the relationship between Jesus and 'the Jews' in John's Gospel.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND THEIR IMPORTANCE

Personal pronouns are pivotal for the construction of 'shared identity' and 'otherness'. This holds true also for the relationship between Jesus and 'the Jews' in the Gospel according to John. Such a construction of 'shared identity' or 'otherness' through personal pronouns happens both in Greek manuscripts and in the textual transformation of the versions. Furthermore, translational changes tend to be more fundamental if the language of the initial text and the language of the target text are not linguistically related. The Gospel according to John was written originally in Greek. Its Greek appears to exhibit the linguistic influence of Hebrew.[14] While Greek uses personal pronouns rather restrictedly, Coptic, 'a sibling of the Berber, Cushitic, and Semitic language groups', tends to use—for reasons of its own linguistic structure—the equivalent of a personal pronoun (the possessive article) far more often.[15] It seems that sentences would appear 'wooden' to Coptic readers if the simple article were used instead of the possessive article. The comparison of a few examples will provide clues as to how the relationship between Jesus and 'the Jews' changes in a decisive manner de-

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[12] Parker, *Living Text*, p. 175.

[13] The concept of 'otherness' follows the definition of Sisay Mengstie, 'Construction of 'Otherness' and the Role of Education: The Case of Ethiopia', *Journal of Education Culture and Society* 2 (2001), pp. 7–15: '"Otherness" is the way of defining one's own "self" or one's own "identity" in relation to others.' (p. 7).

[14] See Hans Förster, 'Possible Similarities of the Linguistic Structure of John 8.25b and John 8.45a', *Bible Translator* 68 (2017) 38–50.

[15] B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar*. (3rd edn; Porta Linguarum Orientalium 20; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2011), quotation from p. 1.

pending on the use of possessive articles to construct Jesus' relationship to core concepts of Jewish identity and faith.

The text of John 7:22 in NA28 reads:

> διὰ τοῦτο Μωϋσῆς δέδωκεν ὑμῖν τὴν περιτομήν—οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Μωϋσέως ἐστὶν ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πατέρων—καὶ ἐν σαββάτῳ περιτέμνετε ἄνθρωπον.

Textual variation attested in Greek tradition affects very few aspects of this verse. There is evidence that in some manuscripts the prepositional phrase at the beginning of John 7:22 was seen as belonging to John 7:21; the first hand of Codex Sinaiticus (GA 01) has a relative pronoun (δι' ὅ) instead of the demonstrative pronoun (διὰ τοῦτο); some manuscripts omit the preposition ἐν before σαββάτῳ. There are no variants recorded in the hand editions for the prepositional phrase ἐκ τῶν πατέρων, which is of particular interest here.

Jesus discusses Mosaic law with Jewish authorities in John 7, making reference to 'the fathers'. Phrased as such, 'the fathers' constitute an authority for both Jesus and 'the Jews' in John's Gospel. In its Greek wording, then, this passage constructs a Jewish identity of Jesus: in consequence, common ground exists between Jesus and the Jewish authorities. On the basis of this, the question is discussed whether or not the laws governing the observation of the Sabbath overrule the (perceived) necessity of helping someone, or whether helping someone overrules the (strict) observation of the Sabbath.

Although the phrase 'the fathers' is invariant in Greek, there are variants in Coptic tradition. Some witnesses, like Greek, avoid taking sides by using only a plural definite article ('the fathers').[16] A few Sahidic manuscripts attest the possessive article in the first person plural ('our fathers').[17] This inclusive language actually strengthens the ties between Jesus and his Jewish dialogue partners, as Jesus declares himself explicitly to be an Israelite by identifying their shared paternity through Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.[18] Some Sahidic and also a few Latin manuscripts attest the possessive

[16] See the Sahidic manuscripts sa 1, sa 10, sa 15^{Lvid}, sa 19, sa 123^{vid}, sa 234; all Bohairic mss. and the Early Bohairic ms.

[17] sa 5, sa 82, sa 117.

[18] A similar use of the personal pronoun is attested within the pericope of the Samaritan woman (John 4): the Samaritan woman uses personal pronouns in con-

article/personal pronoun in the second-person plural ('your fathers').[19] In this case Jesus distances himself strongly from his Jewish opponents. It is 'their fathers' who introduced the circumcision. By distancing himself from these Israelite patriarchs, Jesus is constructed as a non-Jew who opens Christian faith to all those without a Jewish background. Such a choice of a possessive article (Sahidic) or personal pronoun (Latin) can be termed 'othering'.[20] One is led to conclude that such variants change the discourse strategies in John 7:22.[21] A reference to 'the fathers' may lead to an interpretative decision of readers, exegetes and translators to presuppose that circumcision is 'your' tradition and that 'the evangelist' and his community do not practise circumcision any more.[22] If the first-person plural pronoun is used, it creates the impression that circumcision is a practice shared by Jesus *and* his opponents.

The concept of 'othering' the Jews from Jesus is supported by the use of the personal pronoun in some English translations,[23] while others use

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nection with the Jewish patriarchs to construct her identity as Israelite identity. See Hans Förster, 'Die Begegnung am Brunnen (Joh 4.4–42) im Licht der 'Schrift': Überlegungen zu den Samaritanern im Johannesevangelium', *NTS* 61 (2015) 201–218.

[19] sa 9, sa 116, sa 162; VL 3, VL 4.

[20] See Beyza Ç. Tekin, *Representations and Othering in Discourse. The Construction of Turkey in the EU Context* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2010), p. 11: 'Othering is thus a core strategy in the formation of individual, and collective identities. Constructivism acknowledges the significance of the Other in delineating the Self.' Also p. 176: 'Othering is a dynamic process. Structures of demarcation between "Us" and "Them" are in continuing transformation and transition.'

[21] For the use of such strategies, compare Tekin, *Representations*, p. 155: 'The construction of the in and out-groups is achieved linguistically through membership categorisation, lexicalisations, and the selective use of possessive pronouns.'

[22] Forcefully Michael Theobald, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes. Kapitel 1–12.* (RNT; Regensburg: Pustet, 2009), p. 523: 'Die Rede ist distanziert: *Euch* hat Mose die Beschneidung gegeben […] und am Sabbat beschneidet *ihr* einen Menschen! *Eure* Praxis (die nicht mehr die unsrige ist, wie der Evangelist durchblicken lässt) ist derart, dass ihr Jesus, wenn er einen Menschen am Sabbat heilt, gar nicht verurteilen dürftet, wolltet ihr konsequent bleiben.'

[23] The pronoun 'your' in connection with the Fathers of John 7:22 is used in GNB (Good News Bible), CEV (Contemporary English Version) and Phillips (J. B.

this to construct a shared identity between Jesus and the Jews in John 7:22.[24] Since it appears improbable that the Sahidic versions were the source for these translational choices—the Latin, which could be a source of influence, does not attest all three translational choices and must therefore be excluded—one is forced to conclude that these are spontaneous decisions of the translators (in case of the English translation) or of the scribe (in case of the Sahidic variants). The suggestion that scribes would change the Sahidic text is in line with the observations made by Emmanuel Tov:

> many scribes actually took an active role in the shaping of the final form of the text, and therefore the general term 'scribe' is more appropriate for them than 'copyist', since it covers additional aspects of scribal activity and could easily include creative elements.[25]

Another example of the use of possessive articles or personal pronouns is seen in Nicodemus' discussion with the Pharisees in John 7. The narrative frame declares Nicodemus twice to be 'one of the Pharisees'.[26] He is a follower of Jesus who is among those who take care of Jesus' dead body.[27] In this verse, Nicodemus addresses a problem of legal procedure.[28] The point of reference is—depending on the textual variant—'the law',[29] 'our law',[30] or 'your law'.[31] It is apparent that the use of the personal pronoun makes Nicodemus, who believes in Jesus, either a member of the

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Phillips New Testament).

[24] The pronoun 'our' is used for example in ERV (Easy to Read Version), EXB (Expanded Bible) or NCV (New Century Version).

[25] Emmanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert.* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 7–8.

[26] John 3:1: Ἦν δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων, Νικόδημος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ἄρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων. John 7:50: λέγει Νικόδημος πρὸς αὐτούς, ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν [τὸ] πρότερον, εἷς ὢν ἐξ αὐτῶν.

[27] John 19:39: ἦλθεν δὲ καὶ Νικόδημος, ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς τὸ πρῶτον, φέρων μίγμα σμύρνης καὶ ἀλόης ὡς λίτρας ἑκατόν.

[28] John 7:51: μὴ ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν κρίνει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐὰν μὴ ἀκούσῃ πρῶτον παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ γνῷ τί ποιεῖ;

[29] Attested in GA 792 and in the Lycopolitan dialect (ly[1]).

[30] Attested in most of the Greek manuscripts, in Sahidic, the major part of the Bohairic manuscripts and in Early Bohairic.

[31] Attested in some Greek manuscripts and in Bohairic manuscripts.

Pharisees (which is actually stated in John 7:50 where he is described as 'one of them') or a Christian for whom Jewish law is no longer an absolute authority. The strategy of 'othering' can also be observed in the interpretation of this passage, as in the description of the Pharisees as 'alleged experts of the Torah'.[32] Such a description gives rise to the puzzling question as to who could be called a 'true' expert of the Torah. This interpretation creates otherness between the Pharisees and their own core legal text, the Pentateuch, which delegitimises their religious expertise.

The force of translational choices and their importance can also be observed in a further example from the Gospel according to John. Jesus says in John 18:20: 'I taught always in a synagogue or in the temple where all Jews come together.' This English translation phrases Jesus' statement in a rather neutral way, allowing both for an understanding that Jesus sees himself as part of the Jews and an alternative interpretation which takes him as an outsider who is juxtaposed to the Jews as an 'other'.[33] Some Sahidic manuscripts alleviate the interpretative choice, resolving the question by using a possessive article in the third-person plural: 'I taught in their synagogues.'[34] Such an interpretation offers evidence for a 'parting of ways' between Jesus and the Jews which has already taken place. The Jews are construed in these manuscripts as 'the other' and different from Jesus.

Many English translations feature the phrasing 'where all *the* Jews come together' or similar. In this case the use of the definite article 'the' creates distance between Jesus and 'the Jews'. Rendering Jesus' statement as 'all Jews assemble there' would make him one of those naturally assembled in a synagogue. The CEV rephrases the text and translates thus: 'And I have always taught in our meeting places and in the temple, where all of our people come together.' This translational decision cuts the other way: here Jesus is, without any question, one of the Jews and a 'shared identity' is construed in translation. These examples demonstrate how the introduction or

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[32] Theobald, *Evangelium*, p. 546: 'Die Wortmeldung des Nikodemus ist klug: Den angeblichen Toraexperten hält er vor, dass das Gesetz niemanden richtet, bevor dieser (1.) gehört wurde und (2.) klar ist, was er getan hat.'

[33] John 18:20: ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦς· ἐγὼ παρρησίᾳ λελάληκα τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐγὼ πάντοτε ἐδίδαξα ἐν συναγωγῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ὅπου πάντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συνέρχονται, καὶ ἐν κρυπτῷ ἐλάλησα οὐδέν.

[34] Compare sa 9, sa 141: ⲁⲓϯ ⲥⲃⲱ ϩⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲏ.

the rendering of words as small as personal pronouns might influence a reader's perception of the relationship between Jesus and 'the Jews'.

THE USE OF TENSES

The use of a particular tense can also have impact on the construction of 'shared identity' or 'otherness'. This is the case in John 16:2: 'They shall put you out of the synagogues; but the hour is coming that every one who kills you will think to render service to God.'[35] The majority of Greek manuscripts have the future tense (ποιήσουσιν), while some have the aorist subjunctive (ποιήσωσιν). This text can be understood as Jesus telling the disciples what will happen (giving a 'shared identity' between Jesus and the Jewish community) or as a *vaticinium ex eventu* in which Jesus' speech functions as a description of what has later happened to the Christians (creating 'otherness'). It is the decision of the interpreter as to how he or she understands the Greek text.[36] Augustine, for example, understands the Latin text as pertaining to things which will happen in the future.[37]

The question of the interpretation of this verse can be, and has been, decided in translation. Almost the entire Sahidic tradition (with the exception of sa[286]) and the early Bohairic use the Perfect I (sa: ⲁⲩⲣ ⲧⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲟⲥ; pbo: ⲁⲩⲉⲣ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲟⲥ 'they have thrown you out of the synagogues'). Since this tense 'expresses the past time range',[38] it carries with it the implication that the exclusion of Christianity from the Synagogue is present in Jesus' words. The Lycopolitan translation uses the conjunctive tense (ly: ⲛⲥⲉⲣ ⲧⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲥⲩⲛⲁⲅⲱⲅⲟⲥ 'they will throw/are throwing you out of the synagogues'). The conjunctive 'is an "empty" base in the sense that it is outside of the tense system'.[39] Its use here makes it appear that this sentence extends what Jesus says at the end of John 16:1; it can therefore be taken as either describing something which

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[35] John 16:2: ἀποσυναγώγους ποιήσουσιν ὑμᾶς· ἀλλ' ἔρχεται ὥρα ἵνα πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνας ὑμᾶς δόξῃ λατρείαν προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ.

[36] For a recent discussion, see Jonathan Bernier, *Aposynagōgos and the Historical Jesus in John. Rethinking the Historicity of the Johannine Expulsion Passages.* (Biblical Interpretation 122; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013).

[37] Augustine, *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium* 93.2 (CCSL 46; Turnhout: Brepols, 1954, p. 558): *Deinde quid passuri essent, iam exprimens ait: Extra synagogas facient vos.*

[38] Layton, *Grammar*, §334.

[39] Layton, *Grammar*, §351.

will happen in the future or which is happening at the same time that Jesus says this to his disciples. The Bohairic translation employs a conditional construction, which is also open to interpretation. The majority of the Latin tradition uses the future tense here (*absque synagogis facient vos*: Vulgate; *extra synagogam vos facient*: VL 3 etc.). However, a translational decision which puts the event in the past is also attested in Latin witnesses (*expulerunt vos a synagogas*: VL 2; *extra synagogam fecerunt vos*: VL 6, 8* [*facient* 8^{C2}]).

John 16:2 is thus also testimony to a living text which shows how translators and scribes may make a decision as to how a reader may understand the text. It is of vital importance for the *understanding* of the text whether the events described here will take place in the future ('they will throw out'), are taking place while Jesus speaks ('they are throwing out') or have taken place ('they have thrown out'). The use of the perfect tense results in the construction of Jesus and the disciples as outside the synagogue in the narrative world of John's Gospel. If it had been the case that Jesus *during his lifetime* declared the disciples as no longer members of the synagogue, this would create a strong notion of 'otherness' in the text. This idea is, in fact, present in the textual tradition, but whether this is 'the' meaning of 'the' text here is not even open to dispute. It is apparent that the reader has to make a decision as to his or her own understanding of this passage. The transformation of the text in some of the Coptic manuscripts can be described as follows with Alan Kirk: 'It is in these activities that one can see most clearly the scribal tradent function: the fresh enactment of the chirographic tradition to engage it authoritatively with the contemporary realities of the community.'[40] Those Christians who read the Coptic manuscripts were no longer members of the synagogue.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

It is also possible to use questions and their extension via the particle ὅτι as a means of constructing either otherness or identity. John 8:43 is an example of such a translational decision. The first sentence (John 8:43a) is commonly taken to represent a question and the second part (John 8:43b) appears to be the answer to this question:

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[40] Alan Kirk, 'The Scribe as Tradent' in *Scribal Practices and Social Structures Among Jesus Adherents. Essays in Honour of John S. Kloppenborg*, ed. William E. Arnal et al. (BETL 2285; Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 97–115, there p. 107.

> διὰ τί τὴν λαλιὰν τὴν ἐμὴν οὐ γινώσκετε;[41] ὅτι οὐ δύνασθε ἀκούειν τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐμόν.

The KJV translates John 8:43 as follows: 'Why do you not understand my speech? Even because you cannot hear my word.' The NKJV suggests: 'Why do you not understand My speech? Because you are not able to listen to My word.' The NIV has: 'Why is my language not clear to you? Because you are unable to hear what I say.' And the GNB translates: 'Why do you not understand what I say? It is because you cannot bear to listen to my message.' A similar translational choice appears to be reflected in the Latin text of the Vulgate: *quare loquellam meam non cognoscitis quia non potestis audire sermonem meum*. Phrased like this, with a combination of (rhetorical) question and answer, the question introduces an undercurrent of rejection. To have Jesus reject 'the Jews' is a rhetorical means of erecting boundaries and creating identity by the delineation of borders. In this case a strong border seems to run between Jesus and 'the Jews'.

While it is a possible understanding of this passage to see John 8:43b as an answer to John 8:43a, it is by no means certain that this is the only or even the most probable way to interpret it. In consequence, the traditional translation might be an interpretative translational choice. It is also possible to see this as two questions and, in consequence, as Jesus' invitation to 'the Jews' to listen to his argument: 'Why do ye not understand my speech? Is it because ye cannot hear my word?'

The description of the syntactic structure of John 8:43 makes it easy to identify similar structures. Examples must consist of two main clauses, the first of which is a question (introduced by τί/διὰ τί). This ensures that the first clause is a question similar to the first clause of John 8:43. The second clause needs to be introduced with ὅτι. Further examples will be taken both from the Old Testament and from the New Testament. Comparison with the Old Testament appears to be important since the Septuagint and Vulgate both try to give the meaning of the Hebrew. If a Hebrew phrase is definitely understood in the Vulgate as a question following another question

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[41] For the use of this type of question, see K. van Leeuwen Boomkamp, 'TI et ΔIATI dans les évangiles', *Revue des études grecques* 39 (1926) 327–331: '(Les evangélistes) n'emploient que: 1° dans les phrases négatives; 2° dans des questions très nettes, où le sens est: *pour quelle raison*?' (p. 331).

this appears to be a reliable indicator of how the text is to be understood in the Septuagint if a question is followed by ὅτι.

Examples from the Old Testament

The first example is Genesis 12:18:

> καλέσας δὲ Φαραω τὸν Αβραμ εἶπεν· τί τοῦτο ἐποίησάς μοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπήγγειλάς μοι ὅτι γυνή σού ἐστιν;
>
> NETS: Now when Pharaoh had called Abram he said, 'What is this you have done to me, that you did not tell me that she is your wife?'
>
> Vulgate: *vocavitque Pharao Abram et dixit ei quidnam est quod fecisti mihi quare non indicasti quod uxor tua esset.*

An analysis of the syntax reveals a question followed by a second question. The second question is introduced with the conjunction ὅτι (ὅτι οὐκ ἀπήγγειλάς μοι); this conjunction (ὅτι) is rendered as *quare* in Latin (*quare non indicasti*). The hypotaxis within the second question is introduced with ὅτι (ὅτι γυνή σού ἐστιν); this is rendered as *quod* in Latin. This indicates the possibility that translators have a wide choice of how to translate ὅτι into Latin, which includes an interrogative conjunction. The translation of multiple instances of ὅτι may vary within one sentence so that the use of the conjunction (and therefore its co-ordinating force) differs in its occurrences within a single sentence. In consequence, a translation trying to be close to the Greek source text might come to the following way of phrasing Genesis 12:18: 'Now when Pharaoh had called Abram he said, 'What is this you have done to me? Why did you not tell me that she is your wife?'

The next example is of interest since the Latin translation is quite similar to the Latin rendering of John 8:43. using *quia* to translate ὅτι. The Greek text of Genesis 20:9 reads thus:

> καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Αβιμελεχ τὸν Αβρααμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας ἡμῖν; μή τι ἡμάρτομεν εἰς σέ, ὅτι ἐπήγαγες ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν μου ἁμαρτίαν μεγάλην; ἔργον, ὃ οὐδεὶς ποιήσει, πεποίηκάς μοι.
>
> NETS: And Abimelech called Abraam and said to him, 'What is this you have done to us? Surely we have not committed some sin in regard to you, that you have brought great sin on me and on my kingdom? You have done a deed to me that no one shall do.'

> Vulgate: *vocavit autem Abimelech etiam Abraham et dixit ei quid fecisti nobis quid peccavimus in te quia induxisti super me et super regnum meum peccatum grande quae non debuisti facere fecisti nobis.*

In this instance, the Greek particle ὅτι is rendered as *quia* and **not** translated into modern languages as a causal clause offering the answer to the question (in contradistinction to John 8:43). Thus the conjunction *quia* does not express causality here in the same way as in John 8:43b. The Hebrew has the interrogative pronoun מה rendered as τι and the particle כי rendered as ὅτι in the Septuagint.[42] It appears that the conjunction כי actually expands the question in the Hebrew text. This function of כי is described in Gesenius' dictionary as introducing a conclusion after a question. It is not possible to say whether the semantically correct translation is 'was ist der Grund dafür, dass …'[43] ('What is the reason that…'), which would imply a conclusion, or whether it should be rendered 'was ist der Grund dafür? Und warum ... ?' ('What is the reason for this? And why…?'). As as consequence of this example, one has to conclude that the ὅτι-clause in Genesis 20:9 can be seen either as an expansion of the question or as a means of making apparent why the question has been asked (in contrast to the traditional translation of John 8:43b, where it introduces the answer to the question). The GNB opts for an expansion of the question in Genesis 20:9: 'Then Abimelech called Abraham and asked, "What have you done to us? What wrong have I done to you to make you bring this disaster on me and my kingdom? No one should ever do what you have done to me".' The following translation of the Greek text appears possible: 'Then Abimelech called Abraham and asked: "What have you done to us? What wrong have I done to you? For you bring this disaster on me and my kingdom! No one should ever do what you have done to me".' The English conjunction 'for' can have causal valence; its use here probably comes semantically close to the function of *quia* in this context. It expresses a loose causal connection giving the reason for asking the question.

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[42] Compare Genesis 20:9: ויקרא אבימלך לאברהם ויאמר לו מה־עשׂית לנו ומה־חטאתי לך כי־הבאת עלי ועל־ממלכתי חטאה גדלה מעשׂים אשׁר לא־יעשׂו עשׂית עמדי׃

[43] Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament (bearbeitet von F. Buhl),* (Berlin: Springer, 1962), p. 342.

Examples from the New Testament

One statement of Paul is particularly telling (2 Cor. 11:11): διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαπῶ ὑμᾶς; ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν. This is commonly translated into English as: 'And why? Because I do not love you? God knows I do!' (NRSV). The Vulgate reads: *quare quia non diligo vos Deus scit*. If the translational choice of the combination of question and answer in John 8:43 were applied here as a model, the following translation would be true to the text: 'And why? It is because I do not love you! God knows this.' Clearly, this transforms the text and reverses its meaning. It is apparent that Paul does not intend to say that he does not love the addressees of his letter. As a consequence, the traditional translational choice has been accepted as correct.

In the light of the fact that the author of the Gospel is seen as 'intentionally hostile' the reversed meaning of John 8:43 (using two questions to translate the text) runs contrary to 'common sense'. This may, however, be one of those instances where anti-Judaism is introduced into a translation. The question thus arises as to whether the text here is intentionally hostile or whether a translational choice has created an apparently hostile meaning. The burden is placed on the translator to make this passage either an invitation to listen or a hostile rejection of Jesus' Jewish audience. Both choices are possible, albeit mutually exclusive, interpretations of the Greek text. In consequence, we are forced to conclude that the Greek text is ambiguous. Translational choices have in this instance the effect not only of producing a living text but a translated text which takes on a life of its own. The versions are texts in their own right and in John 8:43 the versional evidence points to a transformation which creates the appearance of an intentionally hostile author. If the author were 'intentionally hostile' this would be called a faithful translation, but if there are doubts as to the intentionality of this hostility, such translational choices should be marked as choices. There is no authorial explanation or interpretation of this passage. In consequence, the accused author (just like any other defendant) must be deemed innocent until proven guilty. This is all the more important in the case of a defendant who does not have his own voice. The next example will show that translational transformation—the word 'choice' appears too weak a description of what has actually taken place—can violate the interpretation of one of the supposedly most anti-Jewish passages of the entire Gospel according to John, with the victim blamed for what he did not do, either intentionally or unintentionally.

SENTENCE STRUCTURE

One of the key passages of the Gospel according to John which has been translated in such a manner as to create otherness is John 12:39–40. This passage contains a quotation from the prophet Isaiah (Isaiah 6:10/John 12:40), which is introduced by a quotation formula (John 12:39). The wording of Isaiah 6:10 is quite different in John 12:40 when compared with the Septuagint: it is slightly shorter than the comparatively literal translation of the Septuagint, with a different wording. It is possible or even probable that the author of the Gospel made his own translation directly from Hebrew,[44] adapting and reshaping the text in this process. The ability to deal with a Hebrew source text and to translate it independently into Greek would make the socio-cultural background of the author that of a Jew who came to believe into Jesus as Messiah.[45] To translate a Hebrew source text independently, particularly in the case of a scriptural quotation, is an outstanding feat for an author who has been deemed to use rather simple Greek.[46] Scripture tends to be treated as an 'authority', even in translation. It takes a creative author with an independent personality to quote a passage of the Septuagint literally at John 12:38 (Isaiah 53:1 [LXX]) and then join to this literal form a second quotation in the author's own translation from the Hebrew text. The author must have known both the Septuagint and the Hebrew text quite well in order to achieve this.

It may be the case that the Gospel according to John exhibits a narrative text which describes the deeds of Jesus and his interaction with 'the Jews' showing an 'undercurrent of judgment upon'[47] and rejection of the

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[44] The language of John's Gospel appears to exhibit influence of Hebrew also in the way the Greek is phrased. This would indicate an author who either was fluent in both languages or who lived in a linguistic environment where there was Semitic influence on the Greek language.

[45] This is actually in accordance with the intrinsic knowledge of Jewish narrative theology. The genealogy used by the Samaritan woman makes her claim to be a 'daughter of Israel' (compare note 18 above).

[46] Norman Hugh Young, 'The Use and Purpose of Three Frequent Syntactical Forms in the Fourth Gospel', *Bible Translator* 67 (2016), 315–330: 'The Fourth Gospel uses three quite sophisticated forms of syntax more frequently than one would expect given its otherwise simple Greek.' (p. 315)

[47] Gerry Wheaton, *The Role of Jewish Feasts in John's Gospel.* (SNTS Monograph Series 162; Cambridge: CUP, 2015), p. 45.

Jews. It is, however, a different matter if a quotation from the Hebrew Bible in the author's own translation creates otherness between Jesus and 'the Jews'. If scriptural quotations support or even create such an 'undercurrent of judgment', then the Hebrew Bible, the very text denoted in John's Gospel as 'Scripture', is used to reject its originally intended reader: 'the Jews'.

The use of a scriptural quotation to create otherness between 'the Jews' and 'their own God' is therefore highly problematic and appears to be evidence of an 'intentionally hostile' author. It is easy to understanding how John 12:39–40 and the way it quotes scripture has been deemed a *crux interpretum*.[48] Its hostility towards 'the Jews' is palpable in a translation such as that of the NRSV:

> And so they could not believe, because Isaiah also said, 'He has blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, so that they might not look with their eyes, and understand with their heart and turn and I would heal them'.

Augustine clearly states how he interprets this passage in his fifty-third homily on John. His text of John 12:39–40 follows closely the wording of the Vulgate, while his understanding of the passage is indicated as follows: *ad deum referatur causa qua non crediderunt.*[49] According to Augustine, there is no doubt: it is God who has blinded the eyes of his own people. The GNB follows this interpretation in its rendering of these verses, inserting the subject in contrast to the Greek source text:

> And so they were not able to believe, because Isaiah also said, 'God has blinded their eyes and closed their minds, so that their eyes would not see, and their minds would not understand, and they would not turn to me, says God, for me to heal them.' (John 12:39–40, GNB).

This quotation from Isaiah obviously has the potential to contribute to the impression that there is an 'intentionally hostile author'. The verses have been deemed one of the key passages which promote the idea of Israel be-

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[48] Compare Roman Kühschelm, *Verstockung, Gericht und Heil. Exegetische und bibeltheologische Untersuchung zum sogenannten 'Dualismus' und 'Determinismus' in Joh 12,35–50.* (BBB 76; Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1990), pp. 191–192.

[49] 'The reason by which they did not believe is ascribed to God'. Augustine, *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium* 53. There is a minor variation in the biblical text, as Augustine has *cor eorum* where the Stuttgart Vulgate reads *eorum cor*.

ing unable to receive Jesus and his message.[50] The reception history of this quote has contributed to Christian anti-Judaism.

The tractate *De altercatione ecclesiae et synagogae*[51] is part of this reception history. Miri Rubin places it in the first half of the fifth century.[52] Dorothea Weber offers a thorough analysis of the tractate, allowing for a timeframe between the early fifth and the sixth century.[53] The tractate is contemporaneous with Augustine and provides evidence of the use of this quotation within the construction of Christian identity. It takes up the quotation of Isaiah 6:9–10 in full in lines 190–193. It is highly probable that its concluding statement is an implicit reference to this quotation from Isaiah, reading: 'Therefore, know that you are damned by your own sword, that you are struck by your own testament, by the words of your prophets, this is (the prophets) of all Jews.'[54] The wording makes it clear that the author of the tractate understands the 'words of the prophets' to strike 'the Jews' with a 'sword'. This is clear imagery of outright rejection, creating otherness between 'the Jews' and what was (in the eyes of the unknown author of the tractate) originally 'their scripture'.

The tractate offers the quote from Isaiah 6:9–10 in a Latin wording different from the Vulgate but following closely the form attested by Cypri-

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[50] Jean Zumstein, *L'Évangile selon Saint Jean (1–12)* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 2014): 'Cette deuxième citation (V. 40) qui reprend sous une forme fort libre Es 6,10 est le passage classique, mentionné dans la littérature néotestamentaire, pour évoquer l'endurcissement d'Israël.' (p. 412).

[51] For the edition, see Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *Altercatio ecclesiae et synagogae* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

[52] Miri Rubin, '*Ecclesia* and *synagoga*: The Changing Meanings of a Powerful Pairing', in *Conflict and Religious Conversation in Latin Christendom. Studies in Honour of Ora Limor*, ed. Israel Jacob Yuval and Ram Ben-Shalom (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity 17; Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 55–86, there p. 58.

[53] Dorothea Weber, 'The *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae* from a Classicist's Point of View', *Millennium* 7 (2010) 67–86, there p. 70.

[54] *Et ideo tuo te gladio scito esse damnatam, tuo te testamento percussam, tuorum prophetarum, hoc est omnium Iudaeorum, elogiis.*' (Hillgarth, *Altercatio ecclesiae et synagogae*, p. 47). Rubin, '*Ecclesia and synagoga*', p. 58, translates: 'And so know that you are damned by the sword, that you are struck by your own testament, by the words of your prophets, Jews all.'

an of Carthage.[55] Within the Latin tradition of Christianity, the typology of Church and Synagogue as described in this tractate evolved as one widely-used image, namely their representation as female. The blinded eyes of the Synagogue are represented by a blindfold and its hardened heart is usually depicted as a sword cutting through the heart of the Synagogue. In the case of the fifteenth-century painting from Thörl in Carinthia depicted on the following page, the sword actually pierces the head and breast of the Synagogue. The 'sword' mentioned in the concluding remark of the tractate is taken literally and reproduced in the imagery of what is 'the synagogue'. In this artful transposition, 'the synagogue' corresponds to 'the Jews' following the creation of otherness between Jesus and 'the Jews': it becomes a metaphorical figure representing 'the Jews'.

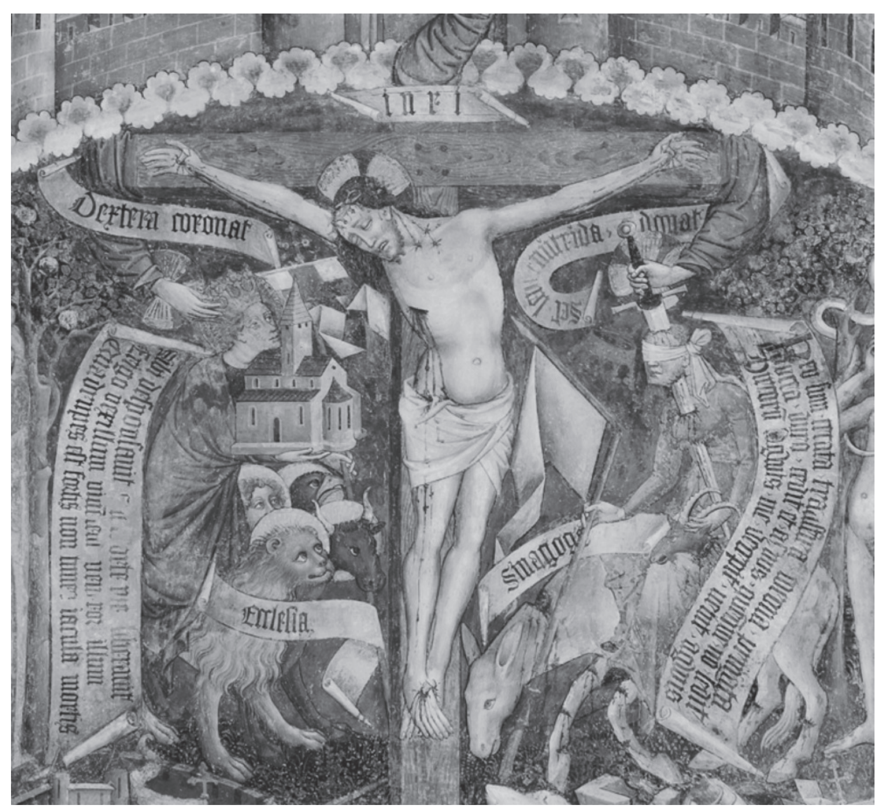
At this point, it seems appropriate and even necessary to look more closely at the grammatical co-ordination of the Greek source text. In their understanding of the syntax of John 12:40, the standard dictionaries and grammars follow Augustine's interpretation.[56] Two articles in TDNT state explicitly that it is God who blinds the eyes of his people.[57] Both Latin translations (Cyprian and the Vulgate) seem to follow an understanding of the text which, while it is exhibited in translation, has insufficient foundation in Greek semantics and may even be described as a transformation of the meaning of the text.

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[55] *Uade et dic populo isti, sic aure audietis et non intellegetis, et uidentes uidebitis et non uidebits. Incrassauit enim cor populi huius et auribus grauiter audierunt et oculos suos clauserunt* [Cyprian: *concluserunt*], *ne forte uideant oculis aut auribus audiant et corde intellegant et reuertantur et curem illos.* (Hillgarth, *Altercatio ecclesiae et synagogae*, p. 32). For the wording of Cyprian cf. Cypr. *Ad Quirinum* I,3 (Weber, *Sancti Cypriani Opera* 1, CCSL 3, p. 8, 10–14. The wording of the Vulgate is: *et dixit vade et dices populo huic audite audientes et nolite intellegere et videte visionem et nolite cognoscere excaeca cor populi huius et aures eius adgrava et oculos eius claude ne forte videat oculis suis et auribus suis audiat et corde suo intellegat et convertatur et sanem eum.*

[56] See Friedrich Blass and Albert Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch, bearbeitet von Friedrich Rehkopf.* (18th edn, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), § 442.8.

[57] TDNT 5, *s.v.* πωρόω: 'In Jn. 12:40 God is expressly called the author of the hardening.' (p. 1026). See also TDNT 8, *s.v.* τυφλός κτλ.: 'In distinction from Is. 6:10 and other quotations of the verse in the NT, God is in Jn. the author of the blindness […].' (p. 292).



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The Greek text of John 12:40 reads:

> τετύφλωκεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐπώρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν, ἵνα μὴ ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νοήσωσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ στραφῶσιν, καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.

This features a negated subclause (ἵνα μή), which contains three verbs in the third-person plural aorist subjunctive (ἴδωσιν, νοήσωσιν, στραφῶσιν). The following clause contains only three words (καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς), with a first-person singular verb in the future tense. The common translational practice is to follow the prescription of grammars and dictionaries and include this clause as part into the negated subclause. This appears to do harm to the text and its structure. The subject of the subclause is a party consisting of more than one person, namely the people of Israel in Isaiah,

corresponding to 'the Jews' in the Gospel according to John. The first person is taken to be the voice of God. The change of person and mode speak clearly against the incorporation of this short sentence into the subclause. One may therefore translate this, following standard Greek grammar, as:

> He has blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, so that they might not look with their eyes, and understand with their heart and turn. And then I will heal them.

In this translation the quotation seems to indicate the fulfilment of the prophecy: it is a statement of fact that Jesus' ministry among 'the Jews' was not successful. The quotation from Isaiah in the literal translation of John 12:40 implies that Jesus is a true prophet precisely because he was not met with much belief. However, the task of bringing salvation is that of God. This interpretation finds support in Origen's grammatical analysis of this passage.[58]

The Latin translation and tradition have thus transformed the text of this passage. While Greek Christian writers could have been used as a counterbalance to this interpretation, standard grammars and authoritative dictionaries such as TDNT instead support the traditional Latin interpretation of the text. It should be evident that the 'translation' in the GNB quoted above may have been well meant, but cannot be considered faithful to the original. In consequence, one is forced to the conclusion that modern translators of the Gospel according to John may have been conditioned in many cases to read the text differently from what was originally written. The result is the construction of 'the author' of John's Gospel as being hostile to 'the Jews'. It appears, however, that the standpoint of the original author is different from the authority usurped by modern translators, especially those who—in the words of Dale Bruner cited above—use translation as 'a commentary on the passage and its meaning'.

CONCLUSION

We may conclude this discussion with a quotation from David Parker:

> The reconstruction which has emerged from the present study is that the text and with it the traditions remained fluid for centuries, and that

[58] For a full grammatical analysis see Hans Förster, 'Ein Vorschlag für ein neues Verständnis von Joh 12,39–40', *ZNW* 109.1 (2018) 51–75.

> the work of the evangelists did not end when they laid down their pens.[59]

The text and its transmission appears especially fluid (if not to say torrential) in the case of the anti-Jewish transformations of the Gospel according to John. Both manuscript tradition and translational technique have repeatedly contributed to changes of the text and thereby shaped the perception of an author intentionally hostile to 'the Jews'. This has effected a remarkable transformation of this Gospel: its intensive dialogue between Jesus and 'the Jews' became the fertile soil in which a theology of replacement could grow. 'The Jews', according to Latin interpretation, have blinded eyes and pierced hearts. Yet, while this translation is indicative of hostility, the examples above show that this hostility is not necessarily authorial.

Interpretative translators express *their* anti-Jewish understanding of the Gospel according to John. In consequence, the victim has been blamed for how tradition transformed and defaced it. As such, this result shows that every translation—whether formally equivalent or dynamically equivalent—is at risk of missing the intention of the Greek text. In her paper in this volume, Theodora Panella points to the fact that modern translations of the New Testament in Greek show evidence of lexical choices. One of her examples shows the replacement of κρίσις with καταδίκη.[60] While the earlier word conveys the notion of 'decision', the latter introduces a negative element of judgment, with the implication of 'condemnation'. This translational choice is supported by traditional interpretation, making it a transformation of the text caused by Christian tradition. One might add that biblical texts are especially prone to reinterpretation. The New Testament has a meaning outside of the time and space where it was written.[61] It is therefore

[59] Parker, *Living Text*, p. 205.

[60] See page 237 above.

[61] See Frederique Vandecasteele-Vanneuville, 'Johannine Theology of Revelation, Soteriology, and the Problem of Anti-Judaism', *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 26 (2001) 165–188: 'Though John's gospel gives an account of Jesus' life, death and resurrection which took place in a particular time of history, the gospel narrative cannot be locked up in the past. The gospel genre is characterized by the fact that the authors of the gospels were theologians who explicitated the universal significance of the person and life of Jesus. Therefore the gospels can be called "classics".' (p. 184).

in danger of being recontextualised within whichever culture it is read. This appears to have happened with the Latin transformation of John's Gospel and the 'undercurrent of judgment' upon 'the Jews' introduced in this process.

Centuries of biblical studies have created the illusion that, with regard to 'the Jews' in the Gospel according to John, there is a single understanding of this matter in this single Gospel whose author was 'intentionally hostile'. This perception may be due far more to the way in which the text has been transmitted and translated and far less to what the author wanted to say. At least part of the anti-Judaism of John's Gospel might thus be what Simon R. Slings described as the hazard of interpreting texts written in ancient languages a long time ago:

> One of the more obvious uses of general linguistic theory for the study of classical and other dead languages is to help us to determine whether what we *do* know (or rather what we think we know) is really knowledge, or the product of misunderstandings and errors committed and added to by one generation of scholars after another.[62]

Since the Gospels are part of the tradition and—at the same time—are themselves tradition, one is tempted to quote the concluding sentence of David Parker's *The Living Text*, in which he comments:

> Today's influences on the text of the Gospels are not those of the early centuries, but they may prove equally powerful. The text of the Gospels remains a living text.[63]

It appears that Christian anti-Judaism has been so powerful that it has helped to transform an inner-Jewish debate into an anti-Jewish polemic in a number of instances. In consequence, translators are requested to 'provide fresh renderings, commentators new interpretations, and theologians new ideas'[64] for the 'Gospel of Love' in order to rectify those instances in which the hostile intent of its allegedly hostile author has been created during the transmission of the text, resulting in the separation of Jesus from 'the Jews'

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[62] Simon Roelof Slings, ' "KAI adversativum" – Some Thoughts on the Semantics of Coordination', in *Linguistic Studies offered to Berthe Siertsema*, ed. Dick J. van Alkemade et al. (COSTERUS 25; Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1980), 101–125, p. 101.

[63] Parker, *Living Text*, p. 213; see also p. 207.

[64] Parker, *Living Text*, p. 213.

in John's Gospel. In consequence, those responsible for passing it on created a Gospel according to John different from the text the author had written. Translations are indeed texts in their own rights.

11. Inventing New Testaments.

D.C. Parker[1]

To invent something can mean several different things. While it usually suggests creating something, or even making it up, the words of my title might also be construed as referring to an 'invention of the New Testament' similar, perhaps, to the invention of the one true cross by Constantine's mother Helena. Such an understanding would indicate that the New Testament had been waiting to be formed, had in some way already existed, either purposefully in the divine mind or as the inevitable consequence of an unalterable chain of events, so that the individual texts which comprise it had no other purpose than to become a part of this larger whole. I suggest that, by and large, people *do* think of the New Testament as something that might have been invented in this way, not so much out of conviction but just because they take it for granted. The sense of unity of this set of texts in a single form is so deeply ingrained in us that it is very difficult to imagine how things might be if we either did not have the New Testament, or had a different New Testament.

One reason why this assumption is so deeply entrenched is the success of the traditional role of textual criticism, certainly in the eyes of its customers and sometimes in those of its practitioners. For such an 'invention of the New Testament' would further suggest that there is an original text

[1] This paper was delivered as my Inaugural Lecture as Professor of New Testament Textual Criticism and Palaeography at the University of Birmingham on 11 March 2003. It is less exciting without the Powerpoint slideshow, which is available at http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/3082. I have only made changes to add references and make it readable without images. It therefore reads as a record of my thinking at that point and some things seem rather quaint now.

waiting to be found, possibly not as an autograph buried in the depths of an Egyptian sand dune, but as a goal attainable by accurate and painstaking and learned work. According to this scenario, the textual scholar's role is to find this New Testament, give it a good clean and dust and polish, and restore it to circulation. The sense of invention of something waiting to be found is attributed to textual criticism because people also assume, again without any deep thought about the matter, that recovery of the original text is the only possible purpose of textual scholarship.

Both the historical assumption that there is an authorial text to be recovered and the procedural assumption that its recovery is the purpose of textual criticism are open to doubt. Indeed, in the case of the texts which we are discussing today there is no agreement upon either. Partly because this is a matter which I have discussed at length on a number of occasions, I want to come at my theme by another way. But I would like to dwell on the text long enough to discuss one variant reading, a reading which advances this enquiry by drawing attention to the reason why the idea that the New Testament emerged inevitably is questionable. The reason is that it is based upon the assumption that it is possible to speak of 'the New Testament', as though these words stood for the same entity throughout their usage since Tertullian first used the word *testamentum* at the beginning of the third century.[2]

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

The Sermon on the Mount has been described as a blueprint for the Christian life, as a summary of all that is necessary for ethical behaviour, as Jesus' instructions to his disciples of a new way of life. And within it the so-called *Antitheses* have an important place. In the first of these, Jesus is recorded as taking the commandment 'Thou shalt not kill' and making the pronouncement 'But I say to you that every one who is angry with his brother shall be liable to judgment' (Matthew 5:21–22). This is the reading of twenty-eight Greek manuscripts, including the oldest witnesses of this part of Matthew, the rest representing every century down to the sixteenth (one of these copied in the hand of Pope Paul IV).[3] All of the other 1,449 legible manuscripts

[2] Tertullian, *Against Praxeas* 15, generally thought to have been written in 213 CE.

[3] I used this material in D.C. Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manu-*

containing this verse include four more letters, the word εἰκῇ, 'without cause'. The change is evident in its insertion by a sixth-century corrector into one of the oldest copies, the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus. This was the form of the saying best known to readers and hearers of Matthew in Greek from the fifth century onwards. Only in the late nineteenth century was it supplanted in critical editions, although it remains still a part of the text read in the Greek Orthodox Church. It was also the form of saying found in the King James Version. An unconditional command not to hate was replaced by one containing a let-out clause, permitting anger with one's brother where there is cause, the cause being undefined and—human nature being what it is—thus able to extend from intolerable provocation to finding someone annoying.

The movement in the development of the Greek text was from the unconditional form of the saying to the conditional. The movement in the Latin text was in the opposite direction, from the restricted to the absolute form. The oldest Latin translations include the qualification, reading *sine causa*. But Jerome's version, that which came to be called the Vulgate, omits it. The ninth-century Irish commentator Sedulius noted the variant, and created an argument to justify the absolute form.[4] It was an argument based on other passages of his New Testament, namely the commands to turn the other cheek, to love one's enemies and to pray for one's persecutors, and the observation in James 1:20 that 'human anger does not work the righteousness of God'. He concludes that the command is unconditional and the words 'without cause' spurious. John Chrysostom had commented on the other reading several centuries before, and he too had been able to justify his interpretation from Scripture, notably the words of Psalm 4:5 'Be angry and sin not', concluding that Jesus is condemning not anger but anger at the wrong time.[5]

The difference between the two is a striking instance of the willingness of Christian readers to annotate and rewrite the text where they thought that it needed it. Bonhoeffer, reading the unconditional form, observes that

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scripts and Their Texts (Cambridge: CUP, 2008), pp. 336–337.

[4] B. Löfstedt, ed., *Sedulius Scottus. Kommentar zum Evangelium nach Matthäus 1.1 - 11,1* (AGLB 14; Freiburg: Herder, 1989), pp. 153–154.

[5] John Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum Homiliae 1-90* (*CPG* 2.4424), Homily 16, cited from B. de Montfaucon, ed., *Sancti Patris Nostri Chrysostomi Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opera Omnia* etc., Vol. 7 (Paris, 1727), coll. 213–214.

'Jesus will not accept the common distinction between righteous indignation and unjustifiable anger', and notes that the addition of εἰκῇ is 'the first attempt to mitigate the harshness of this saying'.[6] Because we are dealing with an element in what is frequently regarded as a central tenet of Christianity, described by John Chrysostom as the 'foundations of a new Commonwealth' (col. 185B-C) and as a 'new law' (col. 213A), a tenet of unconditional love and patience and the outlawing of anger, the variation may be said to present two versions of the Christian life, the absolutist and the pragmatic.

DIFFERENT NEW TESTAMENTS

One might indeed argue that Chrysostom and Sedulius had different New Testaments. And of course they had different New Testaments. But what we usually mean by that is that they had different copies but the same New Testament. The confidence of each writer that his form of text sat neatly with the rest of the New Testament is a striking confirmation of the way in which the success of the concept of the New Testament can blind us to the possibility that it is an illusion. In fact, besides that small but telling difference in the words, their New Testaments differed in many other ways. After all, when you look at a book you do not immediately read the wording. You see first the outside, then as you open it and look at a page a block of text, and then as your eyes focus on it you can begin to read the words. It is the appearance of the book that is the first part of the reading experience, and the appearance that will determine our attitude to what we read. And here we may see, even if we do not know a word of the learned tongues, how different New Testaments can be.

From papyri simple in appearance yet beautifully written and papyri simple in appearance and very badly written, through de luxe purple codices written with gold and silver inks, through the textual sophistication of bilingual copies where the two texts are kept as closely together as possible, through the splendid creations of Northumbria such as the Lindisfarne Gospels and of Carolingian pandects with careful standardisation of the presentation, to the medieval world of gloss and illumination and beyond to printed Bibles of every description and on to the online Bible, we have a

[6] D. Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, tr. R.H. Fuller (London: Macmillan, 1959), p. 116 and note 1.

testimony to the heavens within the reach of human powers of invention. Besides these kinds of variations, there are inexhaustible possibilities in the addition of pictures. They provided another level of meaning to the text and another level of experience for the user, from the Rossano Gospels' depiction of the Good Samaritan as Jesus to the Eton Roundels, in which the central image of the Resurrection is surrounded by depictions which give the story multiple textual associations in pictures. Today we even have the Lego Bible to tell the story.[7]

The imagination which went into the development of production techniques and into the creation of individual copies highlights the simple fact that the minds and hands which conceived and executed these copies and every other copy were inventing them. It is a creativity that is easily recognised in the appearance, and easily forgotten in the matter of the text, even though the two forms of the prohibition of anger should have made us aware of the significance even of very simple changes. This state of affairs is due to the tyranny of the printed text and its servant the critical edition. The modern reader is habituated, and has been for generations, to the *Novum Testamentum Graece*, a single volume containing the twenty-seven books of the Western canon. The format encourages us to think of the New Testament as an entity, presenting its various components like the contents page of a book written as a whole. The standard printed hand-edition powerfully argues the case for itself in both its format and its text. It is *so* widely available, *so* easy to produce and *so* convincing in its presentation, that users have been beguiled into the assumption that it is not *a* Novum Testamentum but *The* Novum Testamentum (a distinction which the Latin language leaves obscure).

It would seem obvious at this point that what I am trying to do is to demonstrate that there is not, and never has been, a New Testament and that copyists and users have always been inventing New Testaments. I hope that I have sketched ways in which I might make this demonstration. But I am not going to do so. Instead, I would like to explore the reasons for the emergence of New Testaments and for their variety, avoiding the usual theological and textual explanations. I shall present evidence that the most significant contributions to developments in the understanding and character of New Testaments have been technological innovations in production methods and in physical form. After all, 'inventing' is associated most

[7] http://www.thebrickbible.com/index.php.

strongly in the modern mind not with artistic creativity but with scientific or technological discovery. I leave open the question whether we invent particular technologies because we need them at that particular point. My argument is that it has been developments in the format of books that have been most significant in shaping the ways in which those books have been used. It is to these inventions that I now turn.

In doing so I shall, I hope, justify the absurdly long title of my chair, which is of 'New Testament Textual Criticism and Palaeography'. The first part is fair enough. The difficulty lies in the second part, 'Textual Criticism and Palaeography'. Were there a single word to do the duty of four, I would use it. As it is, Textual Criticism and Palaeography appear together because neither on its own describes my understanding of textual research. Texts exist only in physical form and without texts there would be no books. Texts are not metaphysical entities that only happen to be words on a page. Without the page and the ink, there would be no text. The title thus attempts to express my firm conviction that the only way to advance towards an understanding of the history of the text, indeed, the only way to find a text, is to study the individual witnesses both as artefacts and with regard to the form of text which they contain, with the further understanding that the physical form and the textual form have a bearing on each other.

The Adoption of the Codex

It is hazardous to speak too dogmatically about the kinds of books used by the first generations of Christians, since the oldest piece that survives (the papyrus fragment of John known as 𝔓^{52}) dates from around the middle of the second century, while the oldest extensive witnesses are fifty or more years later.[8] Even this earliest fragment, though, comes from a codex (the book form of pages with which we are familiar), and not from a roll. The roll had been the only available medium for all writings, whether Jewish, Greek or Latin. The statistics down to the fourth century demonstrate that

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[8] The reference is particularly to the Bodmer Papyri 𝔓^{66} and 𝔓^{75}. Following Nongbri's observations on their dating, I would not make the same claim today. See Brent Nongbri, 'The Limits of Palaeographic Dating of Literary Papyri: Some Observations on the Date and Provenance of P.Bodmer II (P66)', *Museum Helveticum* 71 (2014) 1–35; 'Reconsidering the Place of Papyrus Bodmer XIV–XV (P^{75}) in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament', *JBL* 135.2 (2016), 405–437.

the oldest Christian writings were almost always produced as codices, while classical and Jewish texts continued most often to be written on rolls. Some scholars have been led to conclude that early Christianity *invented* the codex.[9] Although this appears to go beyond the evidence, it does seem certain that Christianity popularised what has been a highly successful format ever since. There is no certain explanation as to why Christians adopted the codex, but it has been argued that notebooks were convenient for peripatetic missionaries, prophets and teachers to carry with them. A roll is harder to carry around, particularly without damaging it, and storage was always rather tricky. A codex is easier to slip into a pocket, and is far more robust. And it turned out to have several other advantages.[10]

The first was the size of the textual unit. The maximum capacity of a roll may be described as one of the longer dialogues of Plato or a book of Thucydides, that is, rather more than 20,000 words. The reason why Luke wrote two works, known to us as his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, was because they would not fit on a single roll. Even at thirty feet (the length of a roll of wallpaper), a roll was difficult enough to handle. Of course, you have already thought of the variables—the height of the roll, the size of the characters. But the practical demands of convenience and legibility require that these could not extend the capacity of a roll as significantly as one might suppose. A longer roll will be harder to handle and more fragile. Smaller writing will be harder to read. The codex, on the other hand, has the advantage that it is possible to write on both sides of the material (if you wrote on the outside of a roll, the ink would be rubbed off by contact with your hands and other objects). As a result, it immediately became possible to contain the earliest collection of Paul's letters—ten of them—in a single volume. 𝔓[46] from the third century represents the simplest form of codex, one comprising a single gathering.[11] It may be an ad-

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[9] Among other writings, see C.H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: OUP, 1983); L.W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts. Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2006); Roger S. Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009).

[10] For the matters discussed in this paragraph, see especially H.Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church. A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).

[11] For more recent discussions, see Edgar Ebojo, 'A Scribe and his Manuscript: An Investigation into the Scribal Habits of Papyrus 46 (P. Chester Beatty ii – P.

vance over the roll, but it is still a quite limited format, limited by the fact that once the leaves are cut to form the book, those in the centre will be narrower the more there are. There is thus a diminishing proportion of text as more pages are added.

It took a second invention, the multiple-gathering codex, to extend the capacity. In theory, a single volume containing the four Gospels became possible, and at least one example survives. This copy, 𝔓[45], is indeed far larger than any other surviving from its time (that is, the third century), for it seems to have contained the four Gospels and Acts in about 440 pages. This size may have been the exception. The evidence of the papyri suggests that it was very rare for a copy to contain more than one of the Gospels.[12] Certainly, there is no evidence that any codex on papyrus contained more than some of the New Testament writings. It took a third invention to begin to realise the potential of the codex. This was the *parchment* codex which, with its greater strength at a larger format, was capable of containing 300 or 400 substantial pages of text, or even more. But more of that in a moment. I must speak first of the other significant developments that the codex brought.

The first may be illustrated from the example of Paul's letters. They must have previously existed in various formats, varying in length as they do from Romans on a not very long roll to Philemon on a single sheet of papyrus. Some of his original letters had been lost, some had become confused, either by negligence or because he had sent them to several destinations with some variation, and some letters not by Paul had become associated with his name. The creation of a single-codex *corpus* of his writings was a major step towards his recognition as the leading thinker of the earliest Church. It has recently been argued that Paul was himself responsible for the first collected edition of his letters, in a roll containing Romans, Galatians and the Thessalonian correspondence.[13] If that is the case, then around this nucleus was constructed a collection of letters which made it

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Mich. Inv. 6238)' (unpubl. diss., University of Birmingham, 2014), available online at http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/4838/.

[12] See Peter Head, 'Graham Stanton and the Four-Gospel Codex: Reconsidering the Manuscript Evidence', in *Jesus, Matthew's Gospel and Early Christianity: Studies in Memory of Graham N. Stanton*, ed. D.M. Gurtner, J. Willits and R.A. Burridge (LNTS 435; London: T&T Clark, 2011), pp. 93–101.

[13] D. Trobisch, *Paul's Letter Collection* (Bolivar MI: Quiet Waters, 2000).

possible to assess an output whose extent was agreed, at any rate among those who possessed copies of this particular edition.

The other development is the far greater freedom of consultation that the codex brings. A roll is almost inevitably read sequentially. Rolling back or forward to another point and not losing your place is feasible if you can clip a marker to the top or bottom edge. What you could not do was compare two or more places almost instantaneously. In a codex, you can keep your finger in one place, find another, and flip back to the first. I suggest that this facility had a profound effect on the way in which readers treated the text. In the case of Christian texts, it led most obviously to comparison between the Gospels. So significant a part of reading activity did this become, that by the early part of the fourth century a whole apparatus of cross-references had been compiled, the Eusebian canons, to permit swift consultation of parallel passages by consulting a synoptic table. Over a millennium and a half later, scholars continue to match and compare parallel passages. The blend of likeness and dissimilarity which they encounter contributes to the study of the origins and development of traditions about Jesus and early Christian thought. But the process of study is of much wider significance than that. It has become an essential part of theological discourse. The presence in a single volume of four similar yet disparate Gospels has forced upon Christianity the need to confront the possibility of alternative narratives and interpretations. That is to say, the process of comparison of parallel accounts which underlies the way in which Christian theology operates owes its origin to the invention of a particular kind of New Testament, the New Testament in multiple-gathering codex form.

In these ways, then—portability, size of collection, the opportunity to assess a larger body of texts, and convenience of comparison—the codex form was the cause of the remarkable success of the book among Christians.

SINGLE VOLUME BIBLES

Although the development in the first centuries of the New Testament canon is a topic which has been addressed in great detail, the significance of technological advance has yet to be fully appreciated. For whatever theory is held regarding the significance of the list of twenty-seven books in Athanasius' Festal Letter of the year 367, there is no evidence for what we might expect to be the obvious result, the general adoption of a single-volume New Testament. It would be easy to conclude that the multiple-gathering parchment codex technology led to the concept of the canon, but the fact is that Greek-speaking Christianity scarcely latched onto the idea of a single

codex comprising only the entire New Testament. From the fourth and fifth centuries, four manuscripts survive which contain not only the New Testament but also the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. These are the codices Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Ephraemi Rescriptus and Alexandrinus. They are generally described as complete Greek Bibles. But it might be more accurate to describe them as early Christian libraries, since the two whose original contents are known to us contain various other texts, such as the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Psalms of Solomon.[14] Whether these massive volumes are typical of their age we cannot tell, but I suspect that they were not. Certainly they did not set a trend. Remarkably, there are no surviving complete Greek New Testaments from the following five hundred years. And from the next five hundred years after that, there are very few. Out of more than three thousand manuscripts containing some part of one or more of the books of the New Testament, fewer than forty are manuscripts originally produced as a single unit, which contain all twenty-seven books and nothing more. Complete Greek Bibles (that is with the Septuagint as well) are an even greater rarity: in addition to the fourth and fifth century copies I have mentioned, there are four from the Byzantine period, a grand total of eight. Several of these were produced in North Italy in connection with the activities of Bessarion.[15]

The fact is that the single-volume New Testament is an invention of Western Christianity, or at least became normative in the West. But even here we have to wait a surprisingly long time for the emergence of a book of the kind which we take for granted as the Bible. The oldest extant complete Latin New Testament was made in the early sixth century. Later in the same century, Cassiodorus edited a single-volume Bible which found its way to Jarrow, where it was the model for the Codex Amiatinus. But these were special books, expertly produced in a large and sophisticated format. The majority of copies were less ambitious and the truth is that there are no

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[14] The first two books are present in Codex Sinaiticus, which contains all the New Testament and these. It lacks the end of Hermas, so it might originally have contained more books. The last is present in Codex Alexandrinus, whose table of contents is extant.

[15] See A. Welsby, *A Textual Study of Family 1 in the Gospel of John* (ANTF 45; Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), pp. 51, 54, 56; A.T. Farnes, 'Scribal Habits in Selected New Testament Manuscripts, Including Those with Surviving Exemplars', (unpubl. diss., University of Birmingham, 2017), pp. 175–185, 206–207.

more complete Latin New Testaments surviving from antiquity than there are Greek. And even from the early Middle Ages, complete Bibles continue to be special productions. It is striking that in Latin the very word *Biblia*, originally neuter plural, became a singular noun by the twelfth century, for the single volume to match the name was not far behind. Its appearance is associated with the emergence of the friars, and is the product of two further inventions.

The time is the thirteenth century, the place is Paris. A need arose for convenient portable volumes which the friars, who were itinerant preachers, could carry with them. The Dominican and Franciscan orders therefore required large quantities of small Bibles. The first of the innovations which either met or created this need was that the small and highly abbreviated script which had been used in the twelfth century for glosses, that is marginal commentary on the sacred text, was further refined so that it became possible to make a single-volume Bible, with a page size six or eight inches high. The other innovation was the development of techniques that made it possible to split skins so that several sheets were produced where previously there had been only one. This made possible the production of more manuscripts from the same population of sheep, goats and cattle, thus reducing the book trade's dependence on a factor that was obviously determined by a complex set of economic and practical factors far beyond the control of makers of books. For the first time, Bibles were produced in large quantities. And arguably, for the first time was fully realised the potential of the codex format that had been adopted by similarly peripatetic Christians twelve centuries earlier.

So successful was this achievement that the Paris Bible of the thirteenth century has influenced all subsequent editions. It is recognisable to us in its format and in its contents, in layout, aids for the reader such as chapter numbers, running titles, initial letters, and so forth. It comes to us through the medium of the next innovation, the introduction of printing. This development was also one which took a while to realise its potential, since the oldest impressions are more like manuscripts with the tedious part of production (the copying of the text) automated, but the decoration still carried out by hand. But concurrent advances in paper production meant that, for the first time since the age of papyrus, writing material was available in huge quantities without a surfeit of roast lamb. This combination of discoveries led to the popularisation of the Bible which, in the vernacular, has had such a huge effect on Western culture. Further achievements in mechanising the printing process during the course of the nineteenth century completed the triumph of the format most familiar to us. So successful

has it been that until recent years the technology of Bible transmission, as of all other books, has remained remarkably conservative. It has used a first-century format (the codex), composed of materials used since the fourteenth century (paper), produced by a technique known since the fifteenth century (printing), in a two-column layout going back to late antiquity with various aids to the reader largely inherited from the thirteenth century (plus sixteenth-century verse numberings), with contents selected according to various criteria which have differed from time to time but whose principles were laid down by the end of the fourth century.

NEW KINDS OF NEW TESTAMENT

Even ten years ago, my story might have ended there. Today, however, it seems possible that it has hardly begun. For in the format of the electronic text our generation is already inventing new kinds of New Testament. It is a very different world. Rather than gradually developing a format large enough to contain the texts, we now have a format so capacious that it is difficult to fill it even respectably. While the fourth evangelist felt able to observe that not all the books in the world could contain the writing down of everything that Jesus did, the same could not be said of the websites, CD-ROMS, hard disks, floppy disks, jazz drives, memory sticks and the like which now abound.[16] How will our concepts of the canon be changed by this? How is the context in which we study individual texts and groups of texts changing? What new understandings of the concept of the New Testament will emerge? Indeed, will the significance of the concept diminish with the new formats? A comparison with the characteristics of the book may help us to attempt to answer this question. I suggested that the codex may have suited early Christianity because it was so convenient to carry. Nobody would claim that as yet a computer could begin to match a book in that precise respect.[17] But the point of carrying a book is to be able to read it in different places and here the electronic text scores very highly. The evidence suggests that, always excepting Harry Potter, texts which are available on the World Wide Web are far more widely read than those which are not.

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[16] That I would not think to mention CD-ROMS or floppy disks if I were giving the lecture fifteen years later underlines the speed of change.

[17] That was in 2003!

With regard to the opportunity to assess the output of a writer such as Paul, or a group of writers such as those who severally penned the Catholic Epistles, and the ease of comparison between passages that characterise the codex, we now have a greatly extended range of possible contexts for every phrase, word and letter. For we can compare each not only with its surroundings or with obviously similar places which we know about, but with every other time that it occurs. That is to say, the immediate context of the New Testament writings is no longer its companions within the pages of the codex, it is a body of texts as large as the reader chooses to make it.

Of course, one advantage of the standardised edition is that it has made comparing passages much more straightforward, because everyone can discuss the wording of a version whose authority has been accepted. Had every user had a different form of text, there would have been no common ground for discussion, for example in analysis of the relationship between the Synoptic Gospels. But the price of this common ground has been a rather blunt tool, since the variation has had to be overlooked. This is most marked in the case of comparison between the Gospels, which has concentrated on the differences between a printed text of each Gospels, and largely overlooked the even more confusing dimension of variation between different manuscripts in these passages.[18] We are now, however, approaching a position from which we will be able to make far more sophisticated tools, in which comparison between Gospels will replace the single individual standard text of each Gospel with the multiple texts of the manuscript witnesses.

ELECTRONIC EDITING

Our electronic tools are also more sophisticated in that they permit us to invent more than one New Testament from the same materials. In Birmingham, we have several related projects. They are using a common technology, Peter Robinson's COLLATE programme, which produces collations of witnesses by comparing complete transcriptions.[19] Both transcrip-

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[18] See D.C. Parker, *The Living Text of the Gospels* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), pp. 31ff and Chapter 7.

[19] Collate was swept away by history in the shape of Macintosh Operating System X, but its spirit lives on in its successor, CollateX. See https://collatex.net/about/ and H.A.G. Houghton and C.J. Smith, 'Digital Editing and the Greek New

tions and collations may be presented in different ways. The Principio Project is making a digital edition of the Greek copies of John's Gospel written in majuscule, with transcriptions and a critical apparatus, and is screening all 1,900 Greek manuscripts of John, in order to group them and select the ones which will best represent the whole manuscript tradition in a critical edition.[20] These transcriptions are also being used for the Byzantine Text Project, edited by Rod Mullen, which will provide the first ever critical edition of a part of the Byzantine text of the New Testament.[21] The same transcriptions will be used by the INTF for their digital edition of the Greek New Testament. They will also in future be available for generating an apparatus for the critical edition of John's Gospel. Thus, by making electronic transcriptions of manuscripts, each of them itself a new form of the text, we are able to generate a variety of editions.[22]

Similarly, the Verbum Project is using COLLATE with multiple outputs from the same raw data. The primary purpose is to make transcriptions of the Old Latin manuscripts of John and to record the text forms of citations from John by Latin Christian writers. These will be used initially to make electronic transcriptions of the manuscripts and studies of the patristic citations, and subsequently to make a critical edition of the Old Latin of John, in the edition of the whole Bible being produced by the Vetus Latina-Institut, Beuron.[23]

These will all be editions which will give the user the opportunity to move between the critical edition and the transcription of the manuscripts.

Testament', in *Ancient Worlds in Digital Culture*, ed. Claire Clivaz et al. (Digital Biblical Studies 1; Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 110–127.

[20] D.C. Parker, U.B. Schmid and W.J. Elliott, *The New Testament in Greek IV. The Gospel According to St. John Edited by the American And British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project.* Volume Two. *The Majuscules* (NTTSD 37; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007).

[21] R.L. Mullen with Simon Crisp and D.C. Parker, *The Gospel according to John in the Byzantine Tradition* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007).

[22] The transcriptions are themselves available online at http://iohannes.com/transcriptions/.

[23] P.H. Burton, H.A.G. Houghton, R.F. MacLachlan and D.C. Parker, *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinische Bibel.* 19. *Evangelium secundum Iohannem* (Freiburg: Herder, 2011–). The online transcriptions may be viewed at http://iohannes.com/vetuslatina/.

A page of traditional text and critical apparatus has links to a transcription of a witness, which is displayed either in normal format or its original layout, with corrections in mouseovers. In fact, the digital edition puts the individual witness and not the variant reading at the heart of the edition. Partly because of this, the electronic format has led to a revolution in the way in which individual manuscripts are studied. In particular, the possibilities of tagging corrections and other features, and thus being able to track more closely the history of the formation and use of a manuscript, and indeed the prehistory of its text, is leading us to new discoveries. One possibility may be the opportunity to analyse punctuation features which have been overlooked and thus to increase our understanding of the way in which the earliest users available to us read the text. In the light of these developments, discussions are under way to make an edition of the Codex Sinaiticus, which would consist of making digital images, both for a facsimile volume and for a CD-ROM, with a transcription which will be based on a new analysis of the manuscript and will incorporate an exhaustive representation of it.[24]

It is no exaggeration to say that textual editing, as we work towards our edition of majuscule manuscripts of John, is a different activity from the process which produced its precursor of 1995, an edition of the papyri of the same Gospel. I single out for special comment four ways in which this is the case. What is most marked is that we are able to collaborate with different projects in a way that has never been possible before, because each user group can use a transcription even if the transcription has been produced according to another group's set of rules. This is significant not only within the discipline of textual editing. It will have important consequences socially, economically and educationally. Equally significant, for quite other reasons, is that we now have transcriptions which can be corrected or enhanced without incurring the biggest curse of textual work, the need for every editor to start again from scratch. Our transcriptions can be improved or emended and made into the basis of new works. For the first time, edi-

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[24] This was written at the beginning of a major project, which led to the Virtual Codex Sinaiticus (without a CD-ROM). See http://www.codexsinaiticus.org/ and also Scot McKendrick, Amy Myshrall, Cillian O'Hogan and D.C. Parker, ed., *Codex Sinaiticus: New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript* (London: British Library and Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2015) and D.C. Parker, *Codex Sinaiticus. The Story of the World's Oldest Bible* (London: British Library and Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2010).

tions will get more and more accurate. Thirdly, the opportunities for analysing manuscript groupings are truly remarkable. Once we have made an electronic collation of our transcriptions into databases, we are able to perform highly complicated analyses of manuscript relations that would be beyond the reach of the pencil and paper scholar. The Stemma Project, using phylogenetic methods of analysis developed in genetic research, is able to produce reconstructions of manuscript groupings.[25] Fourthly, the significance of a critical text is virtually abolished in a digital edition. It becomes little more than a series of convenient pegs on which to hang an apparatus, not least because one is able to change the base text and remake the apparatus.

This development brings me back to the success of the single-text form of the New Testament, a success—as I have argued—unchallenged since the high Middle Ages. It is disappearing, to be replaced by digital scholarly editions which are citizens of a text-critical democracy, in which critical decisions may be reversed in a moment. The invention of the electronic edition advances the textual scholar's dream of being able to reconstruct the text at all available stages of its evolution. Perhaps most significantly, our work is based upon making transcriptions, that is, imitating in electronic form the oldest format of the New Testament, the manuscript copy. At present we do so rather clumsily. For example, we seem to have abandoned the codex and gone back to the roll in the way that we 'scroll down' text. But help may be at hand in the form of the Tablet PC. This is a technology which may even enable a yet bigger revolution, for it offers the possibility of combining the artistic freedom of the scribe in creating layout and letter forms and sizes and colours, with the storage, search and dissemination capabilities of the digital text.

This generation has a vital role to play, for we are the bridge between the generations of scholars who produced their editions with pencil and paper collations and typeset publications, and those who will from the beginning produce electronic collations, transcriptions and editions. We are at the beginning of a revolution at whose significance we can only guess. But the digital edition has not only wrought a change in the present and future. It has also given us a new perspective from which to view the past, leading us to invent fresh accounts of the character and history of both the handwritten and the printed book. It is a reassessment which will go far beyond the history of the book. It leads inevitably to a new look at the tradition,

[25] For bibliography, see Parker, *An Introduction*, pp. 167–171.

both so far as it is contained within the New Testament writings and, even more tellingly, as a set of presuppositions regarding the nature of these writings, presuppositions which profoundly influence theological discourse and Christian practice. It is also possible that this reappraisal of our received texts may bring a new element to the encounter between cultures, each with its own attitude to its texts, which is so vital a part of our current situation. What is certain is that in this third age of the New Testament, the inventiveness which has brought it thus far shows no signs of diminishing.

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